

# Herald Tribune



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## Hosokawa Cabinet Fiasco Stymies Trade Reforms Prime Minister Retreats on Removing A Foe of U.S. Sought Deregulation

By James Sterngold

New York Times Service

TOKYO — Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa's efforts to resolve a bitter trade dispute with the United States and to revive the faltering economy suffered a major setback when he said at a midnight press conference that he had been forced to abandon a campaign to remove a dissident from his fractious inner circle of advisers through a cabinet reshuffle.

It was a startling display of political weakness, in which Mr. Hosokawa apparently succumbed to threats that several parties, including the Socialists, might quit the government if he forced out the official and pursued a more conservative course. He sought to put

Japan expresses worries about the potential revival of Super 301. Page 11.

the best face on this fiasco by saying he would now focus on uniting his government.

But it was clear that the coalition remains so divided between its right and left wings that it is unlikely that Mr. Hosokawa will be able to formulate the bold economic and trade policies he has said are needed.

The unexpected announcement Wednesday night thus left Mr. Hosokawa in the awkward position of not being strong enough to force his coalition to pull together behind a common set of economic policies, or of being able to put new policies in place who would support his goals.

The focus of the long rumored cabinet reshuffle was Mr. Hosokawa's bid to remove his former ally, Masayoshi Takemura, as the chief cabinet secretary. Mr. Hosokawa and Mr. Takemura, both the heads of small parties, were once so close that they agreed to merge their parties to push their agenda for change.

But Mr. Takemura has proven more moderate than Mr. Hosokawa, particularly on the critical economic issues facing the government, such as tax reform, stimulating the ailing economy and deregulation. He is more inclined toward gradual change and achieving a consensus.

For instance, Mr. Hosokawa had earlier followed the advice of his key conservative strategist and Mr. Takemura's main antagonist, Ichiro Ozawa, and proposed a three-year cut in the income tax and then an even larger

Mr. Ozawa has long been an advocate of maintaining a strong relationship with Washington.

In fact, some here have said that Mr. Ozawa is currently negotiating personally and in secret with U.S. officials, including Ambassador Walter F. Mondale, on creating fairer access to Japan's cellular telephone market for Motorola Inc.

If he succeeds, Mr. Ozawa will have broken a deadlock that the government bureaucracy was unable to resolve. He also may have established himself as a personal policy bypass around the cabinet, in which he does not sit, directly to the prime minister.

Still, broad support remained for the major goals and principles Mr. Clinton espouses. The president also stood out in the public's mind as the one person in Washington who has been trying hard to improve health care.

Mr. Clinton's problem — as shown in a discussion with a dozen Ohio voters — is that people say they do not understand his plan. Opponents meanwhile, have been able to

raise serious doubts about it with various advertisements and arguments.

Many people said they could not figure out whether they or the country would be better off if the plan were adopted, but their reaction was to be wary of the proposal.

The uncertainty and lack of information echoed loudly in the discussion here, and it showed up just as strongly in the poll. The number saying they knew a lot about the plan has climbed only seven points since last fall, and three out of four people still said they knew little or almost nothing about it.

It was the third time Washington Post reporters had sat down with these Cincinnati area residents who first gathered to hear Mr. Clinton introduce his plan. The poll's margin of error

was plus or minus 3 percent; 1,531 people were surveyed in the poll, which was conducted Feb. 24-27.

"I just get really aggravated with it," said Cathy Ratiff, 36, a realtor, "because everybody thinks there's something, and nobody has anything concrete."

She has been skeptical of the proposal from the beginning. Still, the same frustration was expressed by more supportive members of the group.

"He has an idea for a plan," said Frank Duvall, a 62-year-old building engineer. "But I don't really believe he's worked out the details."

Jamarus Rucker, 19, who is working as a sales clerk to earn money for college, reflected the confusing signals coming from Washington.

Surveys have consistently shown nearly unanimous support for the president's main goal of guaranteed health insurance for every citizen and that was true of even the most

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## As Worries Grow, the Tide Turns Against Clinton Health Care Plan

By David S. Broder  
and Richard Morin

Washington Post Service

BLUE ASH, Ohio — Short of information and worried by growing doubts about the quality of the health care they would receive, more Americans are swinging against President Bill Clinton's plan to remake the country's medical system.

A new Washington Post-ABC News Poll showed that for the first time since the president introduced his proposal, last September, more people disapproved than approved of the plan.

The margin was small — 48 percent to 44

percent — but the trend ran counter to White House hopes.

Eight out of 10 people surveyed said they felt major concern that the quality of their health care would decline if Mr. Clinton's plan became law. This figure is significantly higher than last fall.

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### Kiosk

#### Assad's Younger Son Cited as Successor

DAMASCUS (AP) — As Syria memorialized President Hafez Assad's oldest son, Basil, the nation's top military leader raised the prospect on Wednesday that the next son would take over as the expected successor to the president.

The defense minister, Lieutenant General Mustafa Tlas, addressed Mr. Assad in saying that his younger son, Bashar Assad, 29, an ophthalmologist, would be "a good successor." Basil Assad died Jan. 21 in an automobile accident.

#### Metal's Ex-Chief Is Raided

Investigators raided and searched the Frankfurt home of Heinz Schimmelebusch, the former chief executive of Metallgesellschaft AG, after the troubled conglomerate asked prosecutors to see if he and another former executive had broken German laws. (Page 11)

#### General News

"Schindler's List" received a respectful welcome at its opening in Germany. Page 2. The Senate rejected a constitutional requirement to balance the budget. Page 3. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi called again for a separate Zulu kingdom. Page 4.

#### Science

Officials are trying to determine how many Americans are infected with the AIDS virus. Page 8.

Book Review Page 7. Bridge Page 7. Crossword Page 5.

#### Newsstand Prices

Bahrain ... \$600 Din Malta ... 35 c. Cyprus ... £1.00 Nigeria ... 50 Naira Denmark ... 14,000 D.Kr. Norway ... 15 N.Kr. Finland ... 11 F.M. Oman ... 1,000 Rials Gibraltar ... £0.85 Qatar ... 8.00 Rep. Ireland ... £1.00 Great Britain ... £0.85 Saudi Arabia ... 9.00 R. Egypt ... £.P. 5000 South Africa ... R. 6 Jordan ... £.P. 500 U.A.E. ... 8.50 Dirh. Kenya ... K. Sh. 150 U.S. Mil. (Eur.) 1.10 Kuwait ... 500 Fils Zimbabwe ... 20.00



Sarajevo taking advantage of the cease-fire to get some air Wednesday. UN officials said that Serbs later violated the truce, firing grenades at Bosnian positions in the city. They said Serbs also shelled the town of Breza from just outside the Sarajevo exclusion zone.

Eric Maru/The Associated Press

## Muslim-Croat Pact Aims to Isolate Serbs

By Daniel Williams  
and Thomas W. Lippman  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Bosnian Muslim and Croatian negotiators have agreed to link their war-torn territories under a single flag in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a step aimed at isolating Bosnia's Serbian faction at peace talks and bringing the war in the former Yugoslavia to an end.

Muslim and Croatian representatives signed a detailed political and military document that would set up a two-house legislature, merge the warring armies of both Bosnian groups and provide for the presidency to switch annually from one group to the other.

The accord was worked out in four days of talks at the State Department and concluded with frenetic phone calls from the Croatian foreign minister, Mate Granic, to President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb, Croatia, and

"much floor pacing," a department official said.

The document was signed by Mr. Granic, Krešimir Zubak, representative of the Bosnian Croats, and Haris Silajdzic, Bosnia's foreign minister. No further signatures or ratifications are required to put it into effect, a U.S. official said.

The Muslims and Croats have engaged in heavy fighting in recent months, although both regard the more powerful Serbs as the main enemy. U.S. officials have told the Muslims that they need to negotiate and not dream of recovering territory by force. Croatia, in turn, has been warned by European leaders that it faces sanctions if it continues to support the Bosnian Croats militarily.

As a further incentive to join forces, representatives on both sides were told that a new Croat-Bosnian federation might eventually obtain limited membership in the European Union and would be invited to take part in NATO's new Partnership for Peace program, which offers military cooperation.

A U.S. special envoy, Charles E. Redman, oversaw the talks here, which culminated two weeks of diplomacy that broke an apparently intractable stalemate.

"The agreement shows how much can be accomplished even after bitter years of violence, when two sides sit down to reach an understanding," Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher said.

In effect, by joining Muslim and Croatian sectors the agreement would divide Bosnia into two parts — one of Muslims, one of Croats, one of Serbs — rather than the three Croats in

See BOSNIA, Page 5

## Volatility Of Markets Puts Investors In a Frenzy

### Stock Traders Discount Signals From Economy As They Focus on Rates

By Lawrence Malkin

International Herald Tribune

NEW YORK — Stock prices around the world plunged on Wednesday and then recovered in a frightening gyration led by interest rates and bond prices, and more fundamental questions of how they will be affected by the governments and central banks of the major financial powers.

Wall Street showed the most striking volatility, with the Dow Jones industrial dropping 48 points within minutes of opening in sympathy with German, British and French exchanges that had tumbled on fears that the Bundesbank would slow down its progress in cutting interest rates.

In Asia, the Tokyo market led Pacific Rim markets lower on fears that higher U.S. rates would first force up Japanese rates and delay recovery, and then attract home American money that had been chasing huge gains in the emerging markets of Southeast Asia all last year.

The Dow Jones industrial index closed 22.51 points higher on Wednesday, at 3,831.74. The Treasury's bellwether 30-year bond also recovered from a 14-point drop on Tuesday and was yielding 6.77 percent at the close of trading, little changed from 6.78 percent on Tuesday.

The day's events demonstrated conclusively that interest rate expectations and their effect on bonds were driving stock prices, and not the signals from the real economy. At that point, however, stock pickers divide on whether the present "correction" in stock prices, as the market euphemism goes, is finished or will continue.

Traditional analysis, exemplified by major strategists at big trading houses and banks on both sides of the Atlantic, is that bond and stock markets went somewhat crazy after U.S. interest rates went up and will calm down after Wall Street digests a current drop of about 4 percent.

That was the view of Abby Joseph Cohen of Goldman, Sachs in New York, who said that what was going on was a "hiccup."

In Frankfurt, Norbert Walter, chief economist of Deutsche Bank, said that European markets were going through an "extreme overreaction," and that bonds would soon correct themselves when traders realized that inflation fears were overblown.

But others replied that there was more to come because fundamentals were different this time.

"If you try to come at this with the usual tools of Wall Street — numerical, rigorous, and logical — you will miss it," said Hugh Johnson of First Albany Securities. He had been one of several stock-market analysts predicting that stock prices would drop when interest rates were up.

Neal Soss, chief economist for CS First Boston, pointed out that in the last few years most

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Dow Jones

Trib Index

	Up	Down
22.51	1.15%	113.10
3,831.74		
3,831.74		
The Dollar		
New York	Up	Up
DM	1.705	1.705
Pound	1.4984	1.4985
Yen	104.20	104.55
FF	5.802	5.8185

# Israel Singles Out 18 Radical Settlers

## Move Fails to Quell Violence As Riots Leave 2 Arabs Dead

By Clyde Haberman  
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — Israel began to carry out some of its announced tougher measures against radical Jewish settlers on Wednesday, ordering 18 people to stay out of specified Arab towns and also reportedly telling some to turn in their army-issued rifles.

But targets of the new, limited crackdown, most of them militants faithful to anti-Arab preachings of Rabbi Meir Kahane, who was assassinated in New York in 1990, said they would defy what they called "insane orders." They included Rabbi Kahane's son, Binyamin Zeev Kahane, who said, "This is illegal, and it is criminal."

The government moves against Jewish extremists did nothing to reduce Palestinian fury over the Hebron massacre, in which a settler killed dozens of Muslim worshippers last week, mowing them down with automatic rifle fire as they prayed.

Rioting erupted and new deaths followed almost as soon as the army lifted curfews Wednesday on the West Bank and Gaza Strip so that residents who were bottled up all week could buy food.

Soldiers shot and killed two West Bank protesters, one in Hebron and one in Jericho, during street battles that were described by witnesses as uncommonly fierce.

The violence strongly suggested that the rage was not about to subside quickly.

That Jericho exploded was especially worrisome. It is there and in Gaza that Palestinian self-rule is supposed to begin under the agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The planned start of self-rule has been delayed by nearly three months, first by disputes over security details and now by the Hebron killings, which prompted the PLO to suspend negotiations.

After the latest unrest, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said Palestinians would continue to be restricted indefinitely through curfews and roadblocks that keep them from leaving the territories for work in Israel.

He said he wanted to "put a lid" on the unrest to reduce the risk of revenge attacks on Israelis, which many here believe are inevitable.

"I don't need casualties on the Israeli side in addition to the tragedy in Hebron," Mr. Rabin said.

In comments on army radio, the prime minister's adviser on terrorism urged Israelis authorized to carry guns to do so all times, although he warned them against becoming trigger-happy.

### Clinton Makes an Appeal

President Bill Clinton urged Palestinians on Wednesday not to abandon the Middle East peace talks, saying that to reject negotiations would "hand a victory to the extremists," new organizations reported.

Mr. Clinton told reporters that he thought the Palestinians wanted

to rejoin the talks. He added, "I'm not resigned to the fact that it won't happen."

Mr. Clinton said Yasser Arafat, the PLO chairman, had indicated that he would join the talks in Washington but that he was under pressure at home not to do so.

On Capitol Hill, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher said Palestinians needed not only security assurances but also to "see a different future" as well.

He told the Senate appropriations committee that this meant changing "realities on the ground," spreading self-rule from Jericho and Gaza to all of the West Bank, and withdrawing Israel's military forces.

In addition, Mr. Christopher said the Clinton administration might support the temporary stationing of United Nations observers in Jericho and in Gaza. The Palestinians are demanding that UN troops be deployed throughout the West Bank.

(Reuters, AP)



Palestinians fleeing tear gas fired by Israeli soldiers during a clash Wednesday in the occupied Gaza Strip.

## Security Tight as Israelis Await Revenge Attacks

By Chris Hedges  
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — Israelis, whether horrified or defensive about the slaughter of Palestinian worshippers by an Israeli gunman in a mosque in the West Bank town of Hebron, are bracing themselves for what many fear will be revenge attacks by Palestinians.

"The Arabs will definitely do something soon," said Katie Alon, 22, a college student who was shopping in downtown Jerusalem. "When things like this happen they get back at us. I listen to the news a lot more. I'm careful where I go."

Israel's senior anti-terrorism official, Yigal Pressler, warned Israelis here and abroad on Wednesday to be on guard against attacks by Arabs. He advised Israelis with gun licenses to carry their weapons in Israel and the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The government has forbidden Palestinians living in the occupied territories to enter Israel, leaving many businesses short-staffed. Security has been tightened in hotels

and malls. School administrators were meeting with parents Wednesday to discuss security measures.

The tension is especially high in the occupied territories, where Jewish settlers now travel to and from settlements in heavily guarded convoys. Jittery soldiers shot and killed a Jewish settler and wounded his wife on Tuesday after mistaking them for Palestinian gunmen.

Many Israelis expressed a deep sense for foreboding about what will happen in the wake of the massacre. The attack on Friday, carried out by Dr. Baruch Goldstein, an immigrant to Israel from New York, left scores of dead and wounded. Numerous radical Muslim groups in the Arab world, as well as the occupied territories, have promised to avenge the murders.

Perhaps those most concerned are parents. One kindergarten that was holding a meeting for parents on Wednesday refused to let a reporter sit in on the discussion. Many of the anxious parents would be identified only by their first names.

"We have Arab workers who, once the closure of the occupied territories is lifted,

March 1992 bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires, which left 39 dead and 250 people wounded.

Dr. Goldstein's attack, whether by plan or coincidence, took place on the same day as the Buenos Aires explosion, according to the Jewish calendar.

Those who have lost family members in a whirlwind of attacks and counterattacks often seem to feel the tragedy most deeply.

"For me this is very hard, because I know what the people who lost family members are going through," said Elisa Ben-Rafael, whose husband was killed in the explosion in Argentina. "It is always the wrong people who get killed. Nothing is sacred now, it can happen to any one, any time."

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"We have Arab workers who, once the closure of the occupied territories is lifted,

will come back to work," said a member of the parent's committee at the kindergarten. "Some of them have been loyal employees for 10 or 20 years. But what do we do? Can we still trust them? Will one of them decide to seek revenge on our children?"

In a circular put out by the Education Ministry, teachers were told to devote class time to letting students express such emotions as pain, anger and fear that may have been generated by the massacre.

"What makes many of us so anxious is that while we believe there will be an attack, we have no idea when, or where it will take place," one woman said.

For the moment, most Israelis can do little more than wait for the reverberations of the Hebron massacre to diminish.

"Dr. Baruch Goldstein murdered not only Palestinians, but Jews," Youssef Lapid wrote in an editorial in the newspaper *Ma'ariv*. "They are still walking among us. There is no doubt now that Arabs, this very hour, are planning revenge. The bloodshed did not end in the Cave of the Patriarchs."

## N.Y. Police Arrest a Lebanese in Shooting of Jews

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — The police arrested a Lebanese man on Wednesday in the drive-by shooting attack on a van of Jewish students that left one young man dead and another critically wounded.

The suspect, identified as Rashed Baz, was arrested in Brooklyn less than 24 hours after an attack that outraged Jews and generated fears of Mideast terrorism in New York.

Police Commissioner William Bratton announced the arrest at a news conference at City Hall, saying Mr. Baz, believed to be 28 years old, had entered the United States in 1984 as a student visa.

Mr. Bratton said Mr. Baz would be charged with 15 counts of attempted murder, four counts of assault, and weapons charges. He said the police had searched his Brooklyn apartment and recovered several semi-automatic weapons and a bulletproof vest. Officers also seized the suspect's car.

Mr. Bratton declined to comment on motivation or whether the attack could be linked to the shooting Friday in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, in which a Jewish settler from Brooklyn killed dozens of Muslim worshippers.

Using two 9-mm semiautomatic pistols, the gunman pursued the van half the length of the bridge, firing at least nine bullets.

One victim of the shooting on Tuesday, Aaron Halberstam, 20, was declared dead on Wednesday. Mr. Halberstam "meets the clinical criteria for brain dead," said Dr. Allen Hirschfeld. "That means that legally he is dead," he said. "But we are continuing life support as a result of the family's wishes."

Mr. Halberstam was in the van carrying young Hasidic men from a hospital visit Tuesday when a gunman repeatedly fired at them as the van entered the Brooklyn Bridge.

Rabbi Shmuel Butman, a leader of the Lubavitcher sect, drew his own conclusions. "It seems to us that was an act of terrorism," he said.

The Brooklyn Bridge was closed for hours after the shooting. Securi-

ty was tightened at sensitive locations, and the FBI and U.S. Justice Department were keeping watch.

The attack occurred as hundreds of Lubavitchers traveled from Brooklyn to Manhattan's Eye, Ear and Throat Hospital, where their grand rabbi, Menachem Schneerson, had undergone cataract surgery. Rabbi Schneerson, 91, and a small entourage used another route back to Brooklyn.

The sect, one of the largest of about 10 Hasidic groups, claims about 250,000 members in the United States and abroad. Other Jewish sources contend that half that number would be a generous estimate.

Travelers have been canceling Easter trips to Israel because of the Hebron massacre. The Tourism Ministry decided to postpone a promotion campaign that was to be started in the coming days in several European countries.

Concorde, the supersonic airliner, celebrated its 25th birthday in the air Wednesday. The first of the Concordes developed by France and Britain made its maiden flight from Toulouse, France, on March 2, 1969.

Commercial passenger service began in 1976.

(Reuters)

## Japanese Airlines Seek to Slash Fares

TOKYO (AFP) — Japan's leading airlines have applied to cut fares on international routes by as much as 55 percent starting in April, in a bid to compete with the growing number of travel agents offering discounted tickets.

Japan Air Lines, the nation's largest carrier, said it had applied to the Transport Ministry to reduce return fares to Europe by an average 41 percent to 152,000 yen (\$1,450). At the same time, it is seeking to cut fares to Los Angeles and San Francisco by 38 percent.

All Nippon Airways, the domestic carrier, is seeking approval to cut fares by as much as 55 percent on European routes and an average of 40 percent on flights to the West Coast of the United States.

A record number of foreigners visited Britain last year and spent a record \$1.1 billion (\$13.6 billion), up 15 percent from 1992. Provisional figures showed there were 19.3 million visitors in 1993 — 4 percent higher than the year before.

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(Reuters)

## 'Schindler's List' Offers Germans 'Sense of Events'

By Craig R. Whitney

New York Times Service

FRANKFURT — Eight hundred people — diplomats, artists, filmmakers and people who had known Oskar Schindler when he lived here — came solemnly together in the municipal theater under the patronage of President Richard von Weizsaecker to see the German premiere of an American film many Germans thought one of their own should have made long ago: "Schindler's List" by Steven Spielberg.

The reactions at the end were tears, stunned silence and a smattering of applause that was cut short as if somehow out of place. "It needed you to do it," Mr. von Weizsaecker told Mr. Spielberg when the lights came up.

Dieter Trautwein, a Protestant minister who befriended Mr. Schindler in the 1960s, said, "On the whole, it succeeded in getting across a sense of what those events were really like, and posing the most important question: Where was everybody else?"

Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who was in Frankfurt on Monday night to honor the Rothschild family, did not attend the showing on Tuesday night. "I would have loved to have been Kohl's ear," the director said. "There's no hard feelings."

Each guest was asked to donate 100 Deutsche marks (\$60) to a German charity called Against Forgetting to restore a deteriorating memorial at the former Nazi concentration camp in Auschwitz, where

Germans who saved some of them, and I was crying, and I saw the Germans who murdered, and I was crying, too. I hope a lot of Germans, particularly young Germans, will go see this film, which helps us to feel the Holocaust."

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Spielberg's film will move and excite this country," it said. "Everybody should see this film."

One of the guests was Michael Friedmann, a 38-year-old son of two Schindler Jews who is a lawyer in Frankfurt. He saw the film with his mother.

"I saw my parents, and I was crying," he said of the film. "I saw the millions who didn't survive, and I was crying. I saw the

expectations," the article said. "No book, no documentation, no film can grasp the horror and the incomprehensibility of the Holocaust. But 'Schindler's List' — the first great movie that has really taken bureaucracy and factory-executed mass murder as its subject — shows what it is possible to do: It is possible to tell the story."

Die Zeit, an intellectual weekly, wrote in January that there had been many German films about World War II in recent years: "Das Boot," about the travails of a German submarine crew in the Atlantic, and Joseph Vilsmaier's "Stalingrad," which attracted 1.5 million viewers last year and gave them a realistic depiction of the turning point of the war.

These films, wrote Andreas Kilb, a reviewer, "show the Germans the way they prefer to see themselves: as victims."

"As long as this is so," he continued, "others will have to tell us the story of our own history. Steven Spielberg will not be the last."

Artur Brauner, a Jewish refugee from Poland who settled here after the war and has produced more than 200 movies, has said he tried for 18 years to get German government backing to produce a film on Mr. Schindler, but failed because it was not thought to be a financially viable project.

"A German film about a 'good' Nazi could be seen by the outside world as self-justification," Karin Marguard, director of the Berlin film support body, said.

"Schindler's List" is great beyond all

expectations," the article said. "No book, no documentation, no film can grasp the horror and the incomprehensibility of the Holocaust. But 'Schindler's List' — the first great movie that has really taken bureaucracy and factory-executed mass murder as its subject — shows what it is possible to do: It is possible to tell the story."

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## EUROPEAN TOPICS

### Spanish Court Rejects A Request to Die

In the first such case heard in Spain, a court has rejected the plea of a nearly totally paralyzed man to be allowed to die.

In denying the petition of Ramon Sanpedro, 51, who has been paralyzed from the neck down since a diving accident in 1968, a Barcelona court said the lack of any law "referring to specific active euthanasia" required it to uphold the penal code, under which helping a person to die is equivalent to abetting suicide, a crime punishable by 6 to 20 years imprisonment.

Mr. Sanpedro, who was a fisherman before his accident, spends his days in bed at his home in Porto do Son, near La Coruna, reading books or writing poems with a pen clenched between his teeth. "I am a dead tied to a dead body," he said recently. "A rational being, mortally injured, should not have to wait for the end like an animal."

The case drew heavy publicity in Spain. Television programs re-

ported that a majority of Spaniards favored the legalization of euthanasia, but groups representing the handicapped criticized Mr. Sanpedro's attitude. He said he understood their position, but added, "All I am asking for is my own right to a dignified death."

#### Around Europe

Sentences issued for environmental offenses in France have fallen sharply, and that does not mean the laws are suddenly being respected, reports the new French daily *InfoMatin*. From 1984 to 1991, the number of sentences for violations ranging from poaching to industrial pollution dropped 30 percent, according to a Justice Ministry survey.

Jehan de Malafosse, an environmental law professor, said the work of "green police" had grown far more difficult as poachers and other violators display new creativity, determination and in some cases violence.

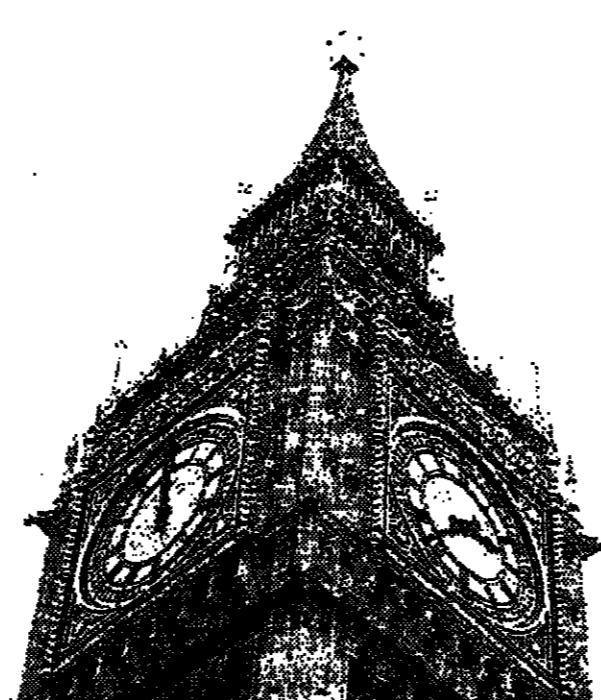
In the Moselle, in Alsace and in the woods around Paris, where deer and other game are now plentiful, lone poachers have been replaced by well-armed gangs ready to run roadblocks or fire on the police. Rangers now wear bullet-proof vests and carry powerful .357 Magnum handguns.

The gap between law and enforcement is likely to widen. As

new European laws take effect in France, the hunting season for many migratory birds will be shortened by two months. Anger over these changes brought 70,000 hunters to the streets of Bordeaux last weekend in a protest that exceeded its organizers' expectations.

More than 90 percent of Germans are dissatisfied with their doctor's bedside manner, according to a study of 2,000 patients by a Hamburg researcher, Els Oksaer. Over all, 93 percent of patients said they were given too little time with their doctor; 89 percent said they received only superficial answers to their questions; 87 percent said they had trouble understanding their physician's explanations, and 78 percent said their doctor did not seem to take them seriously.

Athens is Western Europe's dirtiest city, followed by Madrid, Rome, Brussels, Amsterdam and Berlin, according to a new survey by the Tidy Britain Group, an independent association. Its teams spent four days in the center of each city last year looking for cigarette butts, dog excrement, discarded advertising brochures, graffiti and signs of vandalism. They also measured the fullness of garbage receptacles. The cleanest city was London, followed by Bern and Paris.



**TIMES CHANGE** — Two of the four faces of London's Big Ben disagreed Tuesday. The clockworks are being renovated.

Only 13 girls turned up for a top British beauty contest, whose organizers had expected as many as 500. Newspapers suggested that the poor turnout — judges nearly outnumbered contestants — at the first stage of the Miss British Isles competition in London

showed that beauty contests were a dying phenomenon.

So little interest did the contest arouse, said the Daily Mail, that "even the feminists canceled their planned protest outside."

Brian Knowlton

## Zulu Chief, Changing Signals, Renews Separatist Demands

*The Associated Press*

DURBAN, South Africa — The Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, called again Wednesday for a separate Zulu kingdom, a day after saying he might end his boycott of the nation's first all-race election in April.

His statement was the latest of the conflicting signals Chief Buthelezi, head of the Zulu-led Inkatha Freedom Party, has given in apparent political brinksmanship intended to win concessions from the rival African National Congress prior to the vote.

"We need to separate the kingdom of KwaZulu from the rest of South Africa," Chief Buthelezi told a caucus of the KwaZulu black homeland's legislature.

If the April election proceeds without meeting Zulu demands for an autonomous state, then "the KwaZulu government cannot be held responsible for the anger of the Zulu nation," he said.

A boycott by Inkatha and its allies, including pro-apartheid whites, would likely increase political violence which killed more than 3,000 blacks last year, and could disrupt voting.

Much of the violence stems from a power struggle between Inkatha

and the African National Congress, the nation's leading black group and likely winner of the April vote.

Chief Buthelezi emerged from a meeting Tuesday with Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC, saying he would consider registering for the April 26-28 election in an attempt to end political violence.

In return, the ANC said it would support international mediation to try to resolve disagreements with Inkatha over how much power regional governments should have in a new constitution to take effect after the election.

Chief Buthelezi and other leaders in the opposition Freedom Alliance say they fear that the new constitution will allow the ANC to dominate the first post-apartheid government and trample minority rights. They want independent or autonomous territories.

The ANC and President Frederik W. de Klerk's government have changed the constitution to broaden regional powers, but the Freedom Alliance groups say they need guarantees that an elected ANC government would be unable to rewrite the document.

If Chief Buthelezi registers for the election before Friday, the new

deadline, he would likely break with other alliance members.

The Conservative Party leader, Ferdi Hartzenberg, head of the pro-apartheid white faction, said Tuesday that rightist whites would set up a white "people's state" this weekend.

Another Freedom Alliance negotiator, Rowan Cronje of the Bo-phutshwana black homeland, said that "Buthelezi must have got some hope of a settlement" in his meeting with Mr. Mandela, the Johannesburg newspaper *Business Day* reported.

Chief Buthelezi said Tuesday that even if Inkatha registered, it would reserve the right to boycott the vote if its demands for Zulu autonomy were not met. "It leaves our options open," he said.

### Nigeria Shuts University

*Agence France-Presse*

LAGOS — The University of Abuja, in the Nigerian capital, has been closed indefinitely after riots by students demanding the resignation of a university official, news organizations reported Wednesday.

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### THE FORD FOUNDATION

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## NATO Will Keep Up the Pressure in Bosnian Airspace

By Rick Atkinson  
Washington Post Service

**NAPLES** — The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, baring its fangs after the first combat action in the alliance's history, intends to maintain a stronger presence in the skies over Bosnia in the hope that the warring factions there will finally be intimidated by the airpower above them, according to senior military officers.

NATO aircraft have nearly doubled the daily sorties flown over Bosnia since the alliance demanded last month that Bosnian Serbs besieging Sarajevo either neutralize their guns or face air attacks, according to officials at the Allied Forces Southern Europe headquarters here.

The average number of flights by NATO warplanes has increased from 30 to 40 sorties a day to between 60 and 70, and those higher numbers are likely to remain in effect as part of what one officer called an "adjust-up phase" of the operation.

On Monday, two U.S. Air Force F-16s flying as part of that heavier NATO presence shot down four Bosnian Serbian Jastreb ground-attack fighters for violating a United Nations ban on military flights over Bosnia.

Whether the skirmish succeeds in cowing the Serbs remains to be seen, officials here acknowledged.

Otherwise, NATO officers maintained a studied nonchalance regarding Monday's action, evidently to avoid highlighting the escalation of U.S. military action and its deference to UN desires that NATO avoid appearing excessively bellicose.

"We killed some people Monday morning," one NATO officer said. "That's what it comes down to. We regard this as a closed case from our standpoint. We don't even really care who the pilots of those planes were. They were in violation, and they got shot down."

Nevertheless, hoping to glean insights

into tactics and motivations of the Bosnian Serbs, military officers spent the day poring over AWACS computer tapes, pilot reports and F-16 gun camera footage in an effort to reconstruct the episode. Although the Jastrebs took off from the airfield at Banja Luka, a Bosnian Serbian stronghold in northwestern Bosnia, intelligence officers believe they may originally have come from an airfield in Croatia's Serb-held Krajina region.

Detected by an AWACS aircraft flying over Hungary, the six Jastrebs flew south at 280 knots shortly after dawn, following a riverbed at low level en route to a munitions plant controlled by the Muslim-led Bosnian government.

The planes failed to respond to radio warnings to land, first from the AWACS, then from the F-16 interceptors, although NATO officials acknowledged that the Serbian pilots may not have been tuned to the proper frequency. The warnings, dictated by NATO rules of engagement, allowed the Jastrebs time to execute their bombing run, one officer said.

NATO officials also reported that a team of UN monitoring officers based about 20 miles from Banja Luka were prevented from getting to the Serbian airfield on Monday because their vehicles had been stolen. Officials here suggested that the theft might have been intended to ensure that any departing and returning planes remained unobserved by the monitors.

Pilots at the NATO air base in Aviano, Italy, acknowledged concern that their aircraft might be targets for retaliation by surface-to-air missiles or other ground weapons.

"There's a feeling that we've taken the activity one step beyond where it's been before, and I don't think it would be foolish to assume that the other side or sides might do the same thing," said Lieutenant Colonel Dusty Rhoades, of the U.S. Air

Force's 510th Fighter Squadron in Aviano. "Maybe if they can take a potshot at something, they might give it a try."

Asked about the hundreds of reported violations of the no-fly edict that have occurred over Bosnia since Operation Deny Flight took effect last April, a NATO officer in Naples said that virtually all of those flights had involved helicopters, primarily Hips and Gazelles. All three warring factions have used helicopters for medical evacuation, passenger transport and, occasionally, for military purposes.

■ **Russia Ready for NATO Link**

Russia has told NATO that it will join the Partnership for Peace plan for closer military links with the alliance, Reuters reported from Brussels, quoting NATO sources.

The Russians say they will definitely join soon, a source said. "We've been invited." He said no date had been set.

## China May Abolish Anti-Dissident Law, U.S. Aides Believe

By Patrick E. Tyler  
New York Times Service

**BEIJING** — American officials believe that China's leaders are considering abolishing the law by which they put most political prisoners in jail, a U.S. official here said.

The official, describing the results of a five-day visit by the State Department's assistant secretary for human rights, John Shattuck, said the Chinese leadership was debating whether to drop "counter-revolution" as a crime and establish new laws that would be directed at prohibiting specific acts that endanger national security or public order.

During four decades of Communist rule, counterrevolution has been defined broadly in locking up people who criticized or challenged party authority.

Human rights groups have long advocated such a legal revision as a first step toward reform. Enactment could facilitate the release of many of the more than 3,200 political prisoners the Ministry of Justice said it was holding last year.

The U.S. official could not determine whether such legislation was being readied for the upcoming session of the National People's Congress, but cited the debate as a strong indication that there is a new human rights dialogue under way with the Chinese leadership.

Hopes for lower payments to the Brussels budget were mixed with a vision of heightened security for the Continent in the enthusiastic German reaction to the agreements with the traditionally neutral nations of Austria, Finland and Sweden.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl praised the move as "a great event in European history" and stressed its benefits for Germany, according to his spokesman, Dieter Vogel.

Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, who led Germany's delegation at the negotiations in Brussels, said he was confident that talks on Norway's entry into the Union could be successfully concluded by the beginning of next week.

"Negotiations on the remaining problems with the Norwegian fisheries will continue, and I assume that a solution will be found by the start of next week," he said.

A German diplomat said Bonn, which contributes 28 percent of the EU budget, had a vital interest in seeing more contributors join the 12-member group.

He added that he expected Norway to find a way to join eventually. The diplomat said Bonn was similarly interested in expanding the European Union's stability to East European nations.

With criticism of Europe mounting on the far right in this German election year, politicians here have stressed the advantages of having more contributors in the bloc.

Edmund Stoiber, the Bavarian state premier whose electorate is highly skeptical of European integration, welcomed the accords and said he hoped Bonn's EU payments would fall.

He added, however, that the larger pool of EU payments "should not be used to boost existing programs like the cohesion fund or to start new programs."

"Austria will be an important ally for Bavaria against centralism and Eurobureaucracy in the EU," he said.

The dispute centers on \$346 million in aid — the largest single project in the current aid budget — that was pledged by the Thatcher government in 1989 to construct a dam across the Pergau River.

At the time, the arrangement was viewed as part of an all-out effort, including personal negotiations by Margaret Thatcher, to end the discriminatory trade practices imposed by Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad shortly after he gained power in 1981. He had proclaimed a policy of "Buy British Last" in protest against higher fees for Malaysian students in Britain.

The aid contribution went ahead despite reports from civil service experts that the project was too costly and that the alternative of using gas turbines to generate electricity would be more viable.

mands in Mr. Clinton's May 1993 executive order on human rights in China are "under discussion and under consideration."

"I did not come here to provide a scorecard or to otherwise assess a particular aspect of progress," he said. "The need for overall significant progress and a steady direction forward on the human rights front is what is meant by President Clinton's executive order."

Preparing the way for a visit next week by Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, Mr. Shattuck confirmed that the State Department has received a "rough" accounting of a list of 235 political prisoners first presented to the Chinese last October.

An American official said it was possible to conclude from this accounting that China has released 60 of the political prisoners whose names were on the list last fall.

In the news conference, Mr. Shattuck implied that Chinese and American officials were close to an agreement that would end the jamming of Voice of America broadcasts into China and that such an agreement on allocation of the airwaves could be signed when Mr. Christopher arrives.

Responding to criticism that Washington has failed to clearly define what it means by progress, Mr. Shattuck said the Chinese now have "a very clear understanding of what precisely is meant" by progress in each of the human rights categories listed in the president's executive order.

Chinese leaders were said to be considering an end to the jamming of foreign news broadcasts, tightening controls on the use of the death penalty, making a specific commitment to open Chinese prisons to inspection, and protecting freedom of choice in health programs where abortion is recommended.

## Germany Hails Deal To Expand EU's Ranks

Reuters

**BONN** — Germany, the largest contributor to the European Union, on Wednesday hailed the successful negotiations this week to admit three new members as a historic step toward a new post-Cold War Europe.

Hopes for lower payments to the Brussels budget were mixed with a vision of heightened security for the Continent in the enthusiastic German reaction to the agreements with the traditionally neutral nations of Austria, Finland and Sweden.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl praised the move as "a great event in European history" and stressed its benefits for Germany, according to his spokesman, Dieter Vogel.

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The aid contribution went ahead despite reports from civil service experts that the project was too costly and that the alternative of using gas turbines to generate electricity would be more viable.

Now evidence is emerging to suggest that the aid program was tied to arms purchases. Malaysia has bought British-made frigates and Hawk fighter aircraft in a deal worth about \$1 billion (\$1.5 billion). Until Wednesday, British officials have denied that the aid was a "sweetener" to win the arms contracts for British companies.

In a grueling three hours of testimony before a parliamentary committee on Wednesday, however, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd conceded that the aid had been linked to the arms sale, although he said this was true only for a three-month period in 1988.

## U.K. Admits Linking Malaysian Aid to Arms

By John Darnton  
New York Times Service

**LONDON** — A huge aid project to construct a hydroelectric plant in Malaysia has turned into a source of grief for the British government, leading to a trade boycott from Kuala Lumpur and a costly political dispute at home.

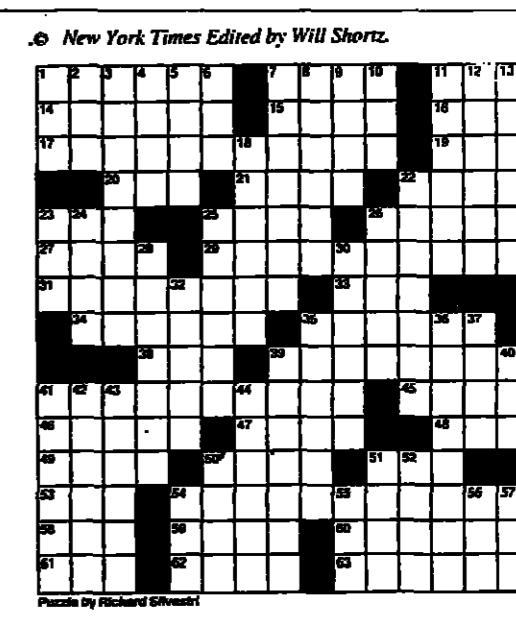
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The aid contribution went ahead despite reports from civil service experts that the project was too costly and that the alternative of using gas turbines to generate electricity would be more viable.

"I don't believe what the Malaysian government has done to British companies is remotely justified," Mr. Major said on the BBC. "I believe it is short-sighted to have acted as they have done."

## CROSSWORD



# International Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

## Rising Risks in Russia

Not surprisingly, the rich democracies are now putting some distance between themselves and the cause of economic reform in Russia. The release from prison of last fall's insurrectionary leaders has severely undercut President Boris Yeltsin. It also undercut the people in Russia and abroad, who have been counting on him to keep his country on the reform track. The finance ministers of the big democracies, meeting last weekend in Germany, said coolly that they certainly hope Russia manages to stabilize its economy. If it does, they promised to provide more foreign aid. But they made it pretty clear that stabilization will have to come first, before the aid is delivered.

For the first year and a half after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the West was ambivalent on that point. There was much talk, at least, about using aid as an instrument to enable Russia to stabilize itself and pursue reform. That idea has faded as Western governments come to believe that outsiders will have little influence over the deep and powerful political changes forming the new Russia.

Stabilizing the economy would require the kind of decisions that only a strong and determined government could make — mainly decisions to cut the budget deficit. It in turn is responsible for the inflation rate, the most visible indicator of internal distress. Once

again the Russian government promises to have its inflation rate down under 10 percent a month by the end of the year — a considerable feat, since it is now well over 20 percent a month. But rather than coming down, the budget deficit appears to be rising fast.

Conspicuously, the finance ministers gathered in Germany did not discuss new aid to Russia as they did a year ago. Instead the topic was the conditions for the aid promised last spring and not yet delivered because of the turmoil in Russia. But it is difficult to fault the finance ministers. Whatever possibilities there may have been last year, conditions in Russia today are not hospitable to the hope that Western money can turn the course of events.

Mr. Yeltsin must now direct his attention to dealing with the men who led the previous parliament into armed rebellion against his government. The severe drop in living conditions for many Russians and the fear of an utterly unpredictable future are giving these men a significant following. The danger now is that Russia's troubles will become circular. Inflation and widening poverty threaten to weaken and distract the Yeltsin government, making it less capable of the kind of decisive leadership that could improve economic performance and attract foreign help.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

## What of Eastern Bosnia?

Even a month ago, it might not have happened. But when NATO spotter caught six Serbian warplanes blatantly violating the United Nations ban on military flights over Bosnia on Monday, they acted. U.S. F-16 fighters pursued them, warned them, and when the warnings were ignored, shot four of the Serbian planes down. Technically, it was the first combat operation ever staged by the 44-year-old NATO alliance. It will, if nothing else, add credibility to future NATO warnings.

Finally, enforcing the flight ban is thus a step forward. But it is a relatively modest one that could be taken without directly confronting the international and political complications that stand in the way of more decisive solutions. The Serbs' advantage in the two-year-old fighting does not come from their air superiority, but from their overwhelming advantage in tanks and heavy guns.

This crucial difference has been reinforced by a perverse UN embargo on arms imports that in practice only affects one side — Bosnia's legal government. But Britain, France and Russia, all with UN vetoes, adamantly oppose modifying that embargo so that the Bosnians could defend themselves without outside involvement. And Russia now seems intent on blocking any new United Nations authorizations for combat, even limited ones, although it voiced no objection to Monday's air shoot-down, which was based on previously granted UN authority.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Steady Ahead to Peace

From the Hebron-inflamed rage of Palestinians and from the surge of international sympathy for them, the hard-pressed Palestine Liberation Organization seeks support for altering the terms of its peace talks with Israel. Instead of confining talks to the previously agreed first-stage issues of Palestinian autonomy and Israeli withdrawal in Gaza and Jericho, the PLO wants to fold in second-stage demands for international security guarantees for Palestinians throughout the occupied territories and for dismantling of all Jewish settlements.

On the immediate and central consideration of Palestinian security, the idea of an international presence is an evident nonstarter. The right alternative is to hold Israel to a visibly improved occupation.

The Hebron massacre brought to a broad public a reality well known to Palestinians: A good number of the settlers, with the complicity if not the partnership of the security services, have become a law unto themselves. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has now begun a change of course by detaching, dismantling and otherwise restricting such individuals. These steps are necessary but minimal. The groups that harbor Jewish terrorism must be restricted. The rights of West Bank and Gaza Palestinians must not be subordinated to the special status

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Other Comment

### Britain and Malaysia

It was inevitable that Malaysia should have reacted angrily to British newspaper allegations that there was something underhand about the deals involving the Pergau dam and the purchase of British military equipment. The British Audit Office may have indeed concluded that the Pergau dam would not be an economic proposition and should not be built. But it is for Malaysians to decide. The British newspapers have their own political agenda: they want to bring down John Major and the Tory government.

None of this would have bothered Malaysia except that in the process the British papers

began to attack Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad personally, without a shred of evidence. It was too much. But a shut-out of British firms from future government contracts is a very blunt instrument of retaliation indeed. It punishes the wrong people. More importantly, it dilutes the principles of free trade and competition.

On this part, Mr. Major should help to limit the damage to British industry. Of course, he has no control over the British press. He should, however, officially dissociate his government from these scurrilous reports. It may only be a simple symbolic act, but it might help to break the impasse.

— Business Times (Singapore).

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## Neutralize Anti-Peace Extremists

By Flora Lewis

LOS ANGELES — It was an American emigrant, Dr. Baruch Goldstein, who killed dozens of Palestinians and wounded scores more on Friday at the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron, where they had gathered for early morning prayers. (Estimates of the death toll continued to vary on Wednesday, ranging from 30 to 52.) He was deliberately trying to destroy not only people but the hope for an Arab-Israeli peace that the United States has been trying to promote for so many years.

The latest round of negotiations, now endangered, was launched on the White House lawn with the hope that the United States would encourage a friendlyudge encouraged by a friendly

Jewry have played in the development of Israel from the start.

There has been a peculiar evolution in American emigration to Israel. To the great disappointment of the founding prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, only a few American Jews chose to resettle and help to build the pioneer state, populated mostly by refugees from Europe and the Arab lands. But the Americans who did go at first were a special kind, often professionals with high technical skills, usually secular people who did a great deal to establish the advanced, modern basis for the new country.

That changed after less than a generation. The existence of Israel gave American Jews a new source of pride and confidence, and helped them to overcome the prejudice and discrimination that they encountered at home. There was a resurgence in the American Jewish community. It produced both a new kind of emigrant.

Rabbi Meir Kahane, from Brooklyn, was an example. He founded the Jewish Defense League, a vigilante group that patrolled Jewish neighborhoods and aggressively protected traditionally passive orthodox residents against harassment. He developed a philosophy of violent militancy, and he went to Israel to put it into practice, founding the ultranationalist Kach party.

Under Israel's electoral system, which induces splinter groups, he won a seat in the Knesset. I went to see him there one day, to see if he was really the rabid, belligerent expansionist that his supporters reflected. Just afterward, I had an appointment with Shimon Peres, foreign minister then as now, and when I told him I had been talking with

Rabbi Kahane, he asked in surprise, "Why would you want to see him? He's a mad fascist."

With me, though, Rabbi Kahane had modulated his language. He knew how to use euphemisms like "transfer" to veil his idea of forcibly driving all the Arabs out of biblical Palestine and claiming it for "Greater Israel." But the most chilling thing about him was that he spoke with an American establishment accent, dressed in a conservative business suit (when many Knesset members wore short-sleeved sport shirts and a few used orthodox garb). Nothing about his manner betrayed his fanaticism. It was all in his ideas.

Eventually he was declared ineligible for the Knesset because of his vicious hate-mongering. He was murdered in 1990 by an Arab after making a speech in New York. Devotees considered him a martyr, as fellow extremists have called Dr. Goldstein.

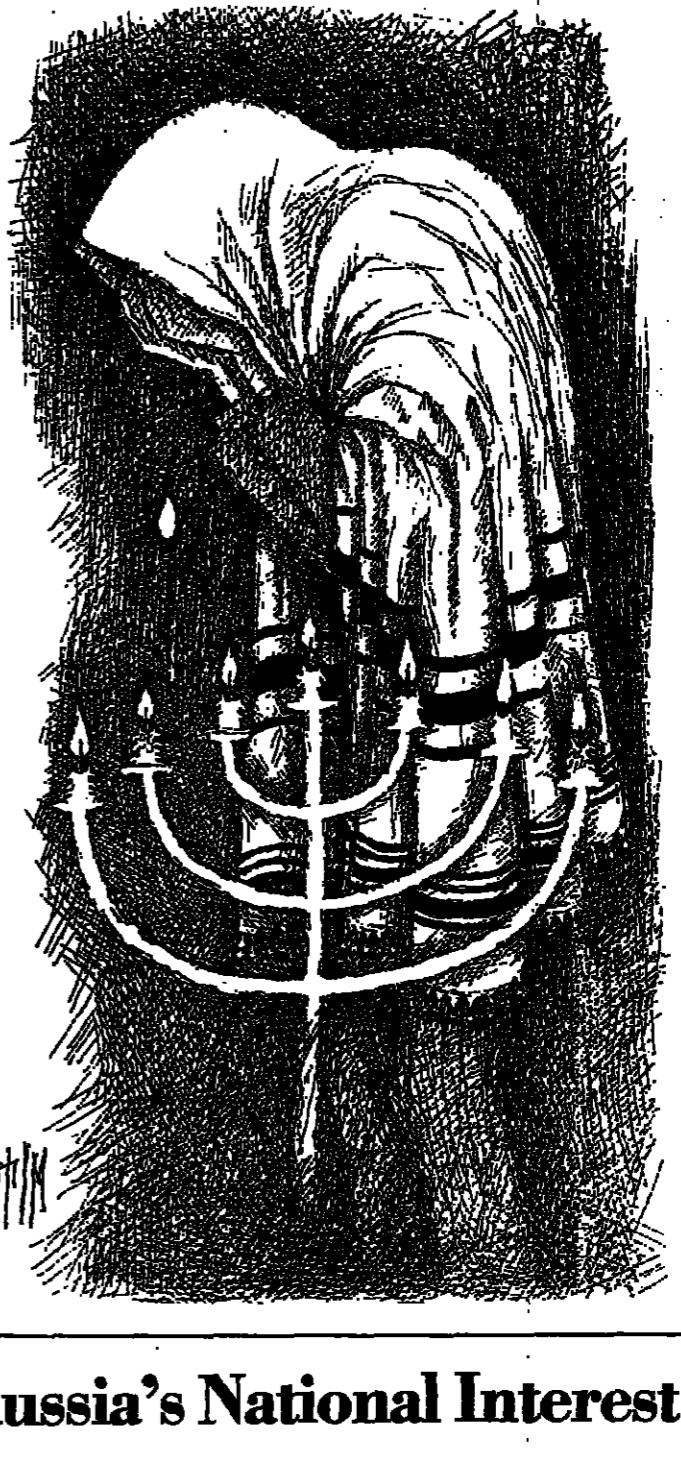
Something about America sent a disproportionate number of such migrants to Israel, not builders like their predecessors but religiously exalted would-be conquerors.

Although the massacre he perpetrated is not condoned, a split is developing among American Jews over how to react to the kind of export that Dr. Goldstein represented. The hard-liners say: "Put it in context. Palestinians are killing Jews every day." This is a formula for ever more murders.

It is as important for Israel now as outside support has been for its survival in the past that Jews in America and in the rest of the world support the demand to punish Jewish as well as Palestinian terrorists, neutralize the extremists and get on with the necessary compromise for peace. Mr. Peres spoke of "foreign implants," a reference to Dr. Goldstein and his sympathizers abroad.

They are killers of hope.

© Flora Lewis.



## Acting Constructively in Bosnia Is in Russia's National Interest

By William Pfaff

PARIS — NATO has bared its teeth and even taken a bite, if only a little one. This has opened the airport in besieged Tuzla. The Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic announced the opening only after what were described as extremely difficult discussions at the Russian Foreign Ministry.

This conferring with the Russians alarms many in the West. Some interpret Russia's decision to send observers to Tuzla — to assure the Serbs that the airport will not be used for military purposes — as another sign that the Serbs are correct in claiming that Russia has all but joined the war on Serbia's side.

The Serbs want to believe that a new Slavic alliance has been created that eventually will cause an iron curtain to descend on a frontier of "race" and religion — a division between civilizations. Only if there is a new cold war between the West and what both the Serbs and the Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington identify as "Slavic Orthodox" civilization could Belgrade consolidate the "greater Serbia" it has conquered during the past two and a half years.

Professor Huntington, the prophet of new world wars between civilizations, advances what seems to me an irresponsible and historically ignorant argument. But it certainly suits Dr. Karadzic, the Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic

and the Russian nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky, all of whom have insisted, with some reason, that NATO military intervention in Yugoslavia would bring "the third world war."

However, Russia's government does not seem to agree. This fact is absolutely fundamental to understanding the present situation.

The Russian government endorsed NATO's decision on Monday to shoot down the Serbian aircraft that violated the United Nations "no-fly" zone. Russia's special envoy to Yugoslavia and deputy foreign minister, Vitali Churkin, said that it was those who sent planes into the zone who were responsible for what happened.

He also said Russia wishes to join NATO's "Partnership for Peace." He stated that Russia intends to play a responsible role in the Yugoslav affair — the role, as he put it, "of a great sovereign state."

Mr. Zhirinovsky may think that Moscow has

something to gain from reopening the struggle with the West that it decisively lost in 1989, but serious people in Moscow know otherwise. More important, relations dictate otherwise. Mr. Zhirinovsky is a fantasist as well as a fanatic.

Russia's economy and industries still are in near-marchandical condition, incapable of sustaining a new struggle against the Western industrial world. Russia needs investment and constructive integration into world markets. It is unimaginable that it could rebuild its industry in isolation, and amid hostility from the West, within any time frame relevant to current policy choices.

In any case, what has Moscow to gain in allying with a Serbia dominated by nationalist-Communist dictatorship? What advantage in being exploited by Yugoslavia's Milosevic and Karadzic in their own game, which thus far has served simply to ruin their economies and societies?

Obviously there are historical ties between Russia and Serbia, but Russia's advantages lie in breaking peace in Yugoslavia. This already has provided Moscow with a gratifying return to great power politics and has amounted to a useful nationalist affirmation as well: demonstrating to the West that Russia henceforth should be consulted in Balkan matters.

Russia is reclaiming recognition as a major power — not as an outlaw power, but a responsible one. Moscow seeks the respect, not the contempt, of Washington and the European governments, with whom it must deal and upon whom, to a significant extent, it depends for its

economic and industrial reconstruction. Russia wants membership in the Group of Seven, a place at the world's top table, not sordid and open-ended Balkan military adventures.

The current issue of *The World Today*, the journal published by Britain's Royal Institute of International Affairs, includes an important analysis of the evolution of Russian foreign policy since 1989 by Neil Malcolm, former director of the institute's program on the Soviet successor states. He quotes Winston Churchill's response to his own celebrated comment that Russia was a "ridle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." Churchill went on to say: "But perhaps there is a key. That key is Russian national interest."

Russian national interest today, as Vitali Churkin says, lies in the constructive conduct expected of a great sovereign state, earning for it the respect and cooperation of the community of industrial powers that today dominate international society. Russia is finding its feet again, as a "normal" power. This is a complicated matter, and there are serious internal stresses and real dangers. But the West does no favor to Russia, nor to itself, by interpreting this search to re-establish legitimate national interests and national identity as a prospective call to a war.

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## If It's Russia First in America, Await Second Thoughts in Europe

By Brian Beedham

LONDON — To those who thought that after black night must come shining new day, the end of communism has brought a thunderous dawn of unpleasant surprises. There has been the horror of ex-Yugoslavia; the resurrection of a surly nationalist Russia; the discovery that turning Communist economic ruin into free market prosperity takes vastly more than a quick glance at a capitalist textbook.

Now add another unpleasant surprise. The question of how to handle the new Russia threatens to open up a dangerous gap between America and Europe.

In recent weeks the Clinton administration has moderated its earlier innocence about Russia. The complexities of de-communization have been more honestly admitted.

The proposition that Russia and America are natural partners in the world of the 1990s has had a shyness question attached to it.

Yet the Clinton people's underlying urge, their "Russia first" instinct, is still there.

Europeans need to understand why Bill Clinton's sort of America can feel this way, because the feeling can spell trouble for Europe.

America did not object when Russia used a civil war to reimpose the Russian army on Georgian soil. It quietly

watched Russia invite Belarus into a new monetary union. It has accepted Mr. Yeltsin's veto on letting the Poles, Czechs and Hungarians into NATO, and has so far put little muscle into the proposed alternative, those "partnerships for peace." With barely a cough from Washington, Russia's new nationalists have expanded their definition of their "near abroad" to include not only the ex-Soviet Union but much of the ex-Warsaw Pact as well.

It has not been put in so many words, but the implied bargain is plain. If you Russians are helpful about Iraq and North Korea and the rest, we Americans will not mind if you rebuild your own private zone of influence in the area around your borders. You have a permit to find out whether the Russian empire, but much of the ex-Warsaw Pact as well.

Europeans see things differently. They too, have an interest in keeping the world's wild men under control, but it is not so direct as America's. For most people in Europe, Kim II Sung's nuclear obfuscations and Saddam Hussein's twists and turns still seem

rather remote. But Russia's "near abroad" is Europe's backyard. The Americans, on the other side of the Atlantic, may think they can afford to be relaxed about what Russia gets up to in these places. The Europeans, right next door, know they cannot.

Here are the makings of a serious quarrel between Europe and America — maybe, if things go wrong, a parting of the ways. That parting becomes likelier if you believe the other argument that some Clintonites use for a Russia-first policy.

The real usefulness of Russia, say these people, is not just the help it can give in relatively minor current disputes like those with North Korea and Iraq. It is Russia's value as a counterbalance to the Chinese superpower that is liable to burst upon the world in the 2010s and 2020s.

The implications are huge. If this is really what the Clintonites want Russia for, they will not ask fuzzy questions about whether it is a democracy or a dictatorship, or whether it treats its "near abroad" gently or brutally. Democratic Europe will be asked, in effect, to settle up to whatever sort of Russian events produce. And democratic Europe will not like this.

Whether the Russia-first idea stands or falls may be decided quite soon, perhaps in the next few weeks.

## OPINION

At Nuremberg-on-Potomac,  
A Chanting of 'Jews, Jews'

By Richard Cohen

WASHINGTON — Washington had a little Nuremberg rally last week. In an event chillingly evocative of the sort the Nazis used to put on, the chant "The Jews, the Jews" was shouted by an audience of about 1,000 people, at least half of them students, at Howard University. Less you think they were responding to the speaker of the evening, Khalid Abdul Muhammad — a man so mad that even Louis Farrakhan pretended shock — the facts are otherwise. They were led in responsive anti-Semitism by a law student named Malik Zulu Shabazz, a man we can only hope was born too late for his real calling: a pogrom.

"Who caught and killed Nat Turner?" he shouted to crowd.

"Jews," most of the audience shouted. "Who controls the Federal Reserve?" "Jews."

"You're not afraid to say it, are you?" "Jews, Jews."

"Who controls the media and Hollywood?" "Jews."

"Who has our entertainers, our athletes, in a vice grip?" "Jews."

"Am I young?" "No," the crowd yelled.

But in every instance, including the reference to Nat Turner, lying was what he was doing.

This account, taken from the notes of a Washington Post reporter, René Sanchez, was hardly an isolated outburst. Other speakers made similar references. Mark Thompson, a leader in the effort to gain statehood for the District of Columbia, suggested that African-Americans junk "We Shall Overcome" and replace it with a new anthem: "We shall not sell out to the Jews." Yet another speaker, Henry Jackson-Bey, said that Mr. Muhammad had exposed "the Euro-Zionist-supremacist conspiracy."

Howard University, federally funded and sometimes called the Harvard of the traditionally black colleges, clearly has a problem. The Post estimated that two-thirds of those in the audience that night were students. Howard's dean for student life, Raymond Archer, puts the figure at fewer than half. I say, who cares? The fact remains that several hundred students acted like extras in a Leni Riefenstahl movie.

Moreover, the student government association that night donated \$500 to Mr. Khalid — which is to say to the Nation of Islam, a white-hating, Jew-hating, Catholic-hating group. It is sort of the United Way of bigotry.

It is a safe bet that not a single person in the Howard audience ever met George Bernard Shaw, the Irish-born playwright who died in 1950. But he knew them well. In his play "Saint Joan," he has an exchange between the inquisitor and the chaplain during the trial of Joan of Arc. The inquisitor orders the chaplain to sit down. When the chaplain indignantly

refuses, the inquisitor says, "If you will not sit, you must stand." To that, the chaplain says, "I will not stand," and flings himself into his seat.

That theme — I will not do what I am told to do — permeates both the Howard meeting and, to a degree, the refusal of certain African-American leaders to repudiate Mr. Farrakhan. What seems to matter most is not Mr. Farrakhan's bigotry but the venue of the repudiation demand. If it comes from whites, especially Jews, it gets rejected. Never mind right and wrong. Forget morality, history or the sheer lunacy of turning toward anti-Semitism as an explanation for what ails black America.

The thing that seems to matter most is a juvenile sense of manliness. If it were not so sad, it would be funny.

But maybe the saddest aspect of the Farrakhan controversy is the degree to which the media apply a double standard when the bigots happen to be black. You can only imagine what would have happened had a white university had itself a hate night. Page One could not have contained the story. Yet Howard's sordid evening was played in the next day's Washington Post at the bottom of the Metro Page (with not a mention of Jew-hating in either the headline or first paragraph), and a follow-up story was tucked within the section. The reason for this, I think, is a certain institutional tone deafness to the authentic sounds of anti-Semitism and an added version of multiculturalism, including the wrongheaded belief that since blacks are victims, they cannot also be victims.

Of course blacks have been — and remain — victims of racism. But anti-Semitism is not something new, something indigenous to America and its peculiar racial troubles. Without equating Louis Farrakhan to Adolf Hitler, it is nevertheless instructive to point out that Weimar-era Germans also considered themselves victims. Hitler supplied the scapegoat, and soon the victims became the victimizers. Only in its particulars is that history unique to Germany. The Serbs, too, genuinely feel themselves aggrieved. So did the poor whites of the old South, the backbone of the Klan. It is one thing to explain, quite another to excuse.

The acceptance or toleration of anti-Semitism by a new, college-educated generation of black leaders is not, as some would have it, "interesting." It is downright chilling.

Louis Farrakhan represents a variant of American fascism. His organization is authoritarian, his message dead-end, dogmatic and his dogs the bracing narcotic of hate. That Howard University audience, brimming with ignorance and led by Pied Pipers of racism, is going down the sucker's road to nowhere. They are not the leaders of tomorrow, they are the chumps of yesterday.

Washington Post Writers Group.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Greece and Macedonia

Regarding the editorial "Greece Is Our Order" (Feb. 23):

The editorial states correctly that the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is populated by a "Slav majority" and a "Muslim minority." Isn't it odd that such people should insist on using a Greek name for their country?

The ancient Dorian tribe called Macedonia, or "the tall ones" (from the Greek word *mekos* or *makos*, meaning length or height) were no "fringe Greeks," as the editorial calls them.

Philip of Macedon did wage a successful war against the Greek city-states, but this is no proof of his allegedly "fringe Greek" identity. Greek fought Greek during the entire classical era.

On the other hand, the Hellenistic Empire built by Philip's son Alexander the Great brought mainstream Greek culture and the Greek language to the confines of the known world.

If the Greekness of the ancient Macedonians is disputed by some, the Greekness of their name is not. On the other hand, no one has ever claimed a Slav or Albanian-Muslim pedigree for it.

Your editorial further suggests that

the European Union should declare Greece uncreditworthy in retribution for its recent foreign policy measures. This amounts to saying that Greece should abide by the rule that beggars are not choosers. Where, pray, is this principle mentioned or implied in the Maastricht treaty?

The authorities in Skopje should at least be urged to delete from their flag the symbol of ancient Macedonia, the Vergina Star. Discussions could then start in earnest in a matter of days.

MARK DRAGOMIROS  
London

Let Skopje accept as its name one that opens ways for better times in the Balkans: Central Balkan Republic. In exchange, Greece can persuade the other neighboring countries — Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia — to guarantee the territorial integrity of the new state and offer it economic support.

GEORGE YIANNITSIOTIS  
Athens

Philip of Macedon and his royal family were proud of their Greek origins. His was a purely Greek rule.

It is wrong, indeed barbaric, to take the heritage and symbols from another

nation's history. Muslims and Slavs have their own history in the Balkans, which has nothing to do with the Greco-Macedonian civilization.

Why then should Greeks have to accept the "Balkanization" of their history and heritage?

PYRRUS DAVID  
Villefontaine, France

## One Way of Looking at It

When are we going to find out that Nancy Kerrigan and Tonya Harding hatched this plot together to reap maximum publicity?

VIC WILCZUR  
Alicante, Spain

## We Can Hardly Wait

Regarding "The Sildest Winter Sport? Moguls Take the Gold" (Sports, Feb. 18) by Tony Kornheiser:

If it's "silly" you're looking for, take a good look at curling, which will join the Winter Olympics in 1998.

YURI ROTHENBLER  
Paris

## Our Bomb Bay Doors Open Somewhere Near Cassino

By Don Allan

UGNAUX, Switzerland — Since none of my children ever asked me "What did you do in the war, Dad?" I have decided after 50 years to answer the question anyway: "I didn't bomb Monte Cassino."

My big moment came on the morning of Feb. 15, 1944. All that awful winter of the Italian campaign, Allied and German armies had been locked in a stalemate along the Garigliano and

## MEANWHILE

Rapido rivers. The Germans held the heights, including historic Monte Cassino, and repeated Allied assaults had only soaked its slopes in blood. Then, it seems, an air force commander managed to persuade the brass that air power could do in a day what ground troops had failed to do in months.

So it happened that before dawn on that Feb. 15, I and 359 other crew members of 36 B-24s of the American 456th Bomb Group, 15th Air Force, shivered on benches in the barn near Cerignola that was our briefing room. An intelligence officer switched on the projector to reveal the target for the day's mission. Audible relief greeted its name: Monte Cassino. No running the gauntlet down "Iak alley" over Munich or Vienna or Neustadt. Just a milk run over Italy.

I don't recall that the briefing officer said anything about the cultural importance of the Abbey of Monte Cassino, founded by St. Benedict in 529. Such considerations never came up at briefings. The Germans who were dug in around the abbey, we were told, blocked the way to Rome and a major raid was going to blow them off the mountain.

In the air, as groups from nearby airfields assembled and fell into a line heading northward, we realized that every plane that could fly had been mustered. Ahead of us were British Lancasters. To avoid overrunning these slower planes, our group had to weave an S-pattern.

Soon a cloud of smoke on a distant ridge showed us the first bombers had hit the target. A few minutes later, as our "S" had swung us off to the right, our lead plane opened its bomb-bay doors. This meant that all planes in our group were to do the same, and we did, although it seemed unusually far from the target for starting the bomb run.

I should explain that early in the war it had been decided that only a few aircraft in the lead would carry bombsights. It had been found that when each bombardier aimed his own bombs, a scatter-shot pattern resulted. So now the whole group patterned the lead plane and as soon as bombs were seen leaving the planes, all bombardiers would flip toggle switches to release their bombs. All the bombs would thus land where the lead bombardier had aimed — supposedly — on the target. The Germans knew this, of course, and went after the lead planes.

Leroy Fitts (that was his nickname; I never knew his first name), my navigator, whether we had crossed our lines yet. He said "No." We were approaching Venafro, then in Allied hands. Just beyond and looming over the town was a large building which looked a bit like an abbey, perhaps. But Cassino could be seen, burning, about 10 miles (16 kilometers) to the left. At this point bombs fell from the lead plane.

Leroy Fitts and I profaned the Lord's name. Consternation was evidently also going on inside the planes flying above and alongside ours. Some bombardiers dutifully salved their bombs with the lead plane. Others hesitated, but one by one, irregularly, out came the bombs. They exploded randomly around the building above Venafro. Ours stayed in their racks and I closed the bomb-bay doors as our group turned and headed for home.

On the way back our crew argued over the intercom whether we might be in deep trouble. Some said we should drop the bombs in the Adriatic and pretend that we had bombed with the lead plane. Others said it would be dangerous to land with live bombs anyway. I maintained it would be safe, and that is what we did.

As soon as we landed all the crews were hustled to a briefing room in an uproar. The 456th had bombed a New Zealand division headquarters building, causing many casualties. Two planes had not dropped their bombs, one because of a malfunctioning bomb rack; the other was ours.

The Abbey of Monte Cassino was demolished by 442 tons of bombs that February day, but the Germans were not blown off the mountain. They pulled out briefly during the bombing and then found the ruins that could fly had been mustered. Ahead of us were British Lancasters. To avoid overrunning these slower planes, our group had to weave an S-pattern.

The leader of the planes that bombed Venafro, the ostensible "bad guy," was our deputy group commander, a West Pointer. After an investigation, he was sent back to the States, his punishment to be safe for the rest of the war. We never saw him again.

It might be thought that because we didn't bomb our own side, our crew were the "good guys." Our reward was to stay on, fly more lead positions, and eventually get shot down. I did get a DFC and a couple of Purple Hearts out of it. And I had time to reflect on the justice of this as a prisoner of war. Later I found "Catch-22" to be a very factual book.

The writer was formerly a journalist and a Unicef officer in Beirut, Nairobi and Geneva. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

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## BOOKS

## ON FAMILIAR TERMS:

*A Journey Across Cultures*  
By Donald Keene. Illustrated.  
292 pages. \$23. Kodansha International.

Reviewed by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt

**A** BOUT his experience of teaching at Cambridge University in 1950, Donald Keene tells an amusing anecdote that parades his distinguished career as a critic of Japanese culture and literature. During his second year there he was told that if he wished to be promoted from assistant lecturer to lecturer he would have to teach a second Asian language along with Japanese in which he was by this time thoroughly expert. Was there not some other Oriental language he might teach?

"After some thought," he writes in his charming memoir, "On Familiar Terms: A Journey Across Cultures," "I answered that during the war I had learned a little Korean, mainly from prisoners of war. 'Excellent!' was the response. 'Nobody will ever want to study Korean, and Korean goes well with Japanese, like Arabic with Persian.' In this manner I became the lecturer in Japanese and Korean. The next summer the Korean War broke out, and in the autumn, when the university year began, I had seven students in my Korean class, most of them persons senior to myself."

He concludes, "I really don't know how I got through that year, but one of the students went on to

## BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott  
I F a player is in a hospital with a major physical problem, it does not follow that he, or she, must give up the game altogether. He can, for example, read books and magazines, or solve double-dummy problems. If these are not available he can construct bridgehands with pen and paper.

Mortega Rastegar of London was recently hospitalized after a stroke that cost him the sight of one eye. But this did not stop him creating the diagrammed deal. North-South bid to a good seven-spade contract, using Gerber to locate aces and kings. South is gambling on the spade queen, which modern bidding methods could locate. Stands bidding lead, South wins

NORTH  
♦ K 10 5  
♦ K 5 2  
♦ K 2 1  
♦ A K 7 6  
  
WEST  
♦ J 9 8 7  
♦ J 10 9  
♦ Q 10 8 4  
♦ J 10 5  
  
SOUTH (D)  
♦ A K 6 3 2  
♦ A Q 0  
♦ Q 7 6 5 2  
♦ 2

gain the information needed to take the spade finesse. There is, however, a slight flaw. In real

# U.S. Officials Rethinking Numbers on AIDS

By Lawrence K. Altman  
New York Times Service

**A**TLANTA — Determining how many Americans are infected with the AIDS virus is an impressive science at best. But U.S. health officials are trying again, and it appears that the current estimate of one million, dating back to 1988, will be lowered.

The 1989 estimate represents the midpoint of the range reported by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the U.S. agency in Atlanta that is responsible for tracking AIDS. It set the figure at 800,000 to 1.2 million. The widely cited one million midpoint figure has been attacked both as too low and too high, depending on the critic's point of view.

The centers plan to make a new estimate in July, and in preparation the agency invited independent experts to meet last week to report and review relevant data. Although some of their estimates went as high as a million, most ranged from 600,000 to 800,000.

The new estimate could have critical health, political and economic ramifications. For planning purposes, health officials need to know where and how many new cases of HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, are occurring.

Determining the national trend in HIV infections and identifying geographical hot spots is crucial to making budgets, developing sound public health policy, evaluating the success of prevention programs and determining research needs and priorities.

There are various reasons why it has been so difficult to obtain accurate information about HIV. Laws around the United States preclude testing a person for HIV without permission.

Furthermore, many people at high risk refuse to take part in household surveys because of concerns about protecting confidentiality and insurance coverage. Proposals for mandatory testing for the virus have met with strong resistance from civil libertarians, advocacy groups and others.

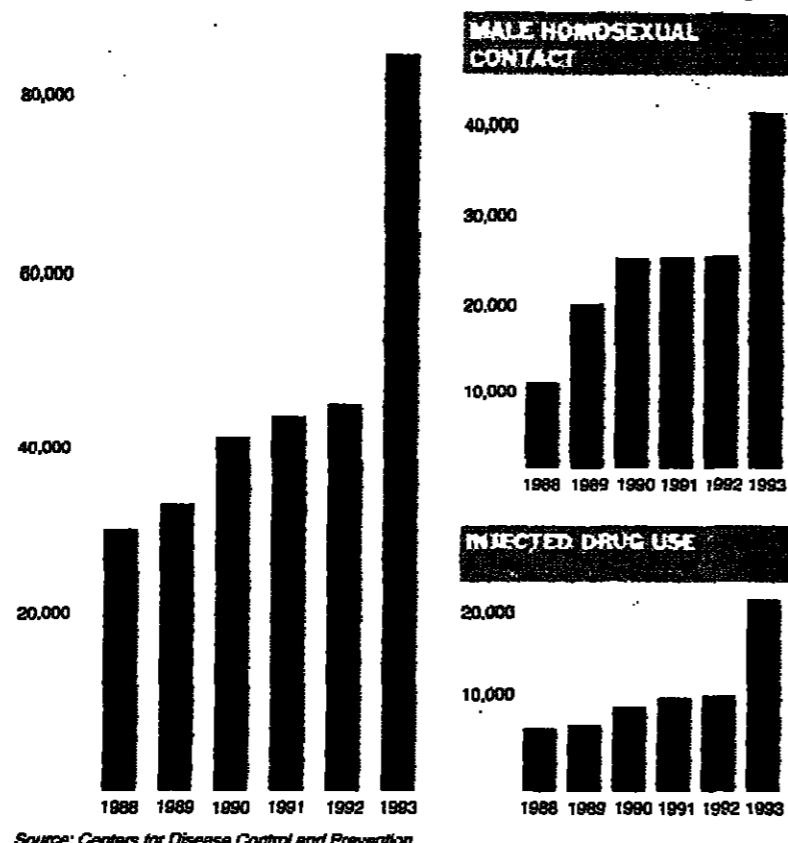
Another obstacle to making accurate estimates is the fact that the United States is battling not one but several AIDS epidemics, and they are not behaving in the same way.

The main epidemic has been and still seems to be among white gay males. But among that group, the incidence of new HIV infections seems to be leveling off, if

## The AIDS Epidemic and Its Sub-Epidemics

Epidemiologists are debating the scope of the AIDS epidemic, with a wide range of estimates for total cases. Different patterns are emerging in different sectors of the epidemic.

### Reported AIDS Cases in Adults



Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

not declining. Meanwhile, other epidemics, particularly the one involving black females in the South, seem to be rising.

The various patterns of the epidemics add to the complexities of determining how many Americans are now infected with HIV and how the number has changed over recent years.

Projecting a national total from small, focused studies is a statistical exercise fraught with risk. Participants at the meeting pointed to many gaps in the available

data as they assessed the merits of the various statistical methods for making the estimates.

"There's no one way to do it that is right," said Dr. Meade Morgan, an expert with the centers, explaining why his team would check results from several methods against each other before making an estimate.

To health officials, the absolute number of HIV infections is less important than the trend in such figures because it is the change over time that indicates whether the number of new HIV infections is rising or falling.

Indeed, statisticians want to know that number each year. But because such data are not collected nationally for HIV and no national study has encompassed all high-risk groups, extrapolations must be made from small studies and surveys.

Calculations from cases of full-fledged AIDS can also be helpful. A major problem in using AIDS cases, however, is that they then reflect the status of the epidemic in the year that individuals became ill with

AIDS.

The question is whether there is enough transmission among young gay men to create a second wave of AIDS that would rival the one a decade ago when the figures for HIV infection ranged from 10 percent to 20 percent a year.

A federally sponsored national survey of childbearing women shows that the number of HIV infections is rising gradually among women in general, but has risen sharply among black women in the South.

Participants said the number of infected users of intravenous drugs was probably not increasing.

The delay in progression from infection to AIDS in adults is, on average, about 10 years, though the number can vary significantly. Thus, the AIDS cases now being reported mostly reflect transmissions of HIV in the early to mid-1980s.

Dr. James Curran, who coordinates all AIDS activities at the Atlanta centers, said a major problem was lack of knowledge about who had become infected with the virus over the last five years.

"We don't know whether the incidence of HIV in the United States in 1993 was different than it was in 1991 or 1989, and we do not know yet whether the current figure exceeds or is less than the number of deaths from AIDS," he said.

Dr. Harold W. Jaffe, the centers' leading AIDS scientist, said there was ample evidence that the newly infected were different, as a group, from those who were getting infected 10 years ago and that the driving force of the epidemic was changing.

**S**EVERAL studies strongly suggest that the AIDS epidemic may have peaked nationally among gay men. As of September, the latest month for which data are available, gay men had accounted for 183,344 of the 334,344 cases reported in the United States since the disease was first recognized in 1981.

But the transmission of HIV has by no means stopped in gay men. Studies in Chicago and Denver showed that 2.5 percent of gay men in their teenage years and early 20s were becoming infected each year.

Another study showed that, despite an overall decline in new infection rates, many young gay men were now becoming infected with HIV in San Francisco and Berkeley, California; the highest rates are in black gay men.

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# Find out what the restructuring of China's economy really means for business.

## Straight from the people who wrote it.

The International Herald Tribune and the State Commission for Restructuring the Economic Systems of China are inviting the world's business leaders to an unprecedented three-day Summit meeting on China's economic reform.

Its aim is to foster a dialogue as well as business development opportunities at the highest levels amongst the leaders of the Chinese government and the global business community.

The Summit, "The Socialist Market Economy of the People's Republic of China, 1994 - 2000: Implications for Global Business," will be held in Beijing on May 11th, 12th and 13th of this year.

Participating will be the major figures of the Government of China as well as key provincial government and state industry leaders. It will be a rare opportunity to hear and personally meet the people who are driving China's economic direction into the next millennium.

As you would expect with an event of this stature, it

will be a closed-door conference and will not be open to the general public.

The International Herald Tribune is inviting a limited number of the largest multinational corporations with a stake in the future of the Chinese economy to participate as Summit Sponsors. There will be 3 levels of sponsorship: Summit, Corporate and Supporting. Each will offer a comprehensive communications package consisting of conference-related benefits and advertising in the International Herald Tribune and a leading Chinese-language daily newspaper. The deadline for registration is March 15th.

For a complete information package, please fax Mr. Richard McClean, Publisher, at +33 (1) 46372133. Or call +33 (1) 46379301.

The International Herald Tribune China Summit. It will prove to be the major business event of 1994 for China, for Asia and for the companies participating. **Herald Tribune**  
PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE CHINA SUMMIT.

# BUSINESS

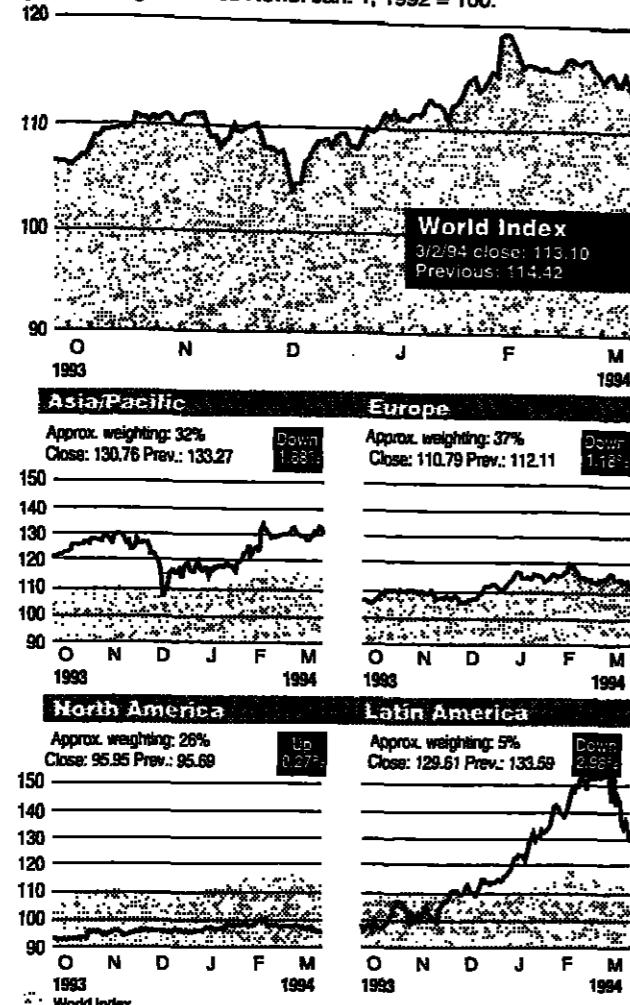
International Herald Tribune, Thursday, March 3, 1994

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## THE TRIB INDEX: 113.10

International Herald Tribune World Stock Index, composed of 280 internationally investable stocks from 25 countries, compiled by Bloomberg Business News. Jan. 1, 1992 = 100.



The index tracks U.S. dollar values of stocks in Tokyo, New York, London, and Amsterdam. It includes stocks from Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Venezuela. For Tokyo, New York and London, the index is composed of the 20 top issues in terms of market capitalization, otherwise the top 50 stocks are tracked.

Industrial Sectors		
Wed.	Prev.	%
Energy 111.31	111.52	-0.19
Utilities 122.90	125.77	-2.26
Finance 117.42	119.94	-2.10
Services 121.45	122.56	-0.91

For more information about the Index, a booklet is available free of charge. Write to Trib Index, 181 Avenue Charles de Gaulle, 92251 Neuilly Cedex, France.

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## INTERNATIONAL MANAGER

### New Missionaries in Moscow

By Alessandra Stanley

New York Times Service

MOSCOW — "We use mystery guests," Edward L. Roth, a successful motel operator and practicing Mennonite from Archibald, Ohio, population 3,440, said in explaining his motel business to an audience of Russian business people.

The Russian translator, searching for a word to convey that "mystery guests" are people whom Mr. Roth hires to check up on motel employees, finally settled on "inspectors."

But in the audience, Irina V. Korsowskaya, a manager of the Veli Ross travel company in Moscow, knew better. "Spies," she murmured to her neighbor. For the first time in Mr. Roth's peppy speech, "How to Put People Before Profits," she smiled approvingly.

Usually, it is American businessmen who pride themselves on bottom-line realism and Russians who are viewed as impractical romantics.

But at a five-day seminar for would-be entrepreneurs in Russia's fledgling tourism industry, which was sponsored by the Mennonite Economic Development Associates, a nonprofit organization that tries to assist small businesses in the developing world, there was an entirely different kind of cultural clash.

On Monday, the seminar's opening day, the Westerners spoke of bringing God and courtesy into the workplace. The 45 Russians feverishly exchanged business cards and fax numbers.

"To be honest, I am not so interested in the lectures," whispered Nikolai V. Ogney, deputy general director of the Kroppy Co. tourist bureau in Moscow. "I came here to make contacts."

Almost every week, there is some kind of business seminar going on in Moscow. And on any day, the finer hotels like the Metropol are filled with Western consultants who flock to the former Soviet Union,

many on all-expense-paid ego trips, courtesy of any number of well-meaning foundations.

There are as many missionaries roaming across Russia — some 1,000 have come seeking to make converts over the last three years.

But it is less common to find Western businessmen in Russia trying to serve God and Mammon at once.

"This is a mission for us," explained Randy Trover, a Mennonite businessman who manages The Amish Kitchen Restaurant in Wilmette, Ill. He, like the six other Canadians and Americans, and unlike so many Western consultants, paid his own way to the sober, frills-free seminar, which was held in a vast, gloomy ballroom of the 10,000-room, gloomy hotel in northeast Moscow. There are slot machines in the lobby, and no Gideon bibles in the rooms.

The Mennonites, like the Amish, are a branch of the Anabaptists; they have a 200-year history in Russia. Long persecuted by the Communists, fewer than 15,000 remain, scattered in remote farming settlements in Siberia and Kazakhstan. Many North American Mennonites have Russian ancestors. "We don't expect to receive anything," Mr. Trover said. "We want to help these people by sharing our knowledge."

The Russians, who paid \$90 to participate, were owners or managers of small new businesses mostly in Moscow. But Tatyana A. Khravova, managing director of the Kanikul travel agency in Tomsk, rode a train for three days from Siberia to attend.

While many practical sessions were scheduled on such subjects as how to run a bed and breakfast and the do's and don'ts of franchising, one lesson all of the panelists were determined to share was that.

See MISSION, Page 13

## CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES

### Cross Rates

Currency	Per \$	Currency	Per \$	Yen	Per \$	Yen	Per \$
Amsterdam	1.935	1.722	0.874	1.112	1.407	1.046	1.364
Brussels	3.125	52.5	4.645	2.125	3.645	2.045	2.510
Frankfurt	1.678	2.570	2.025	1.098	1.195	1.048	1.257
London	1.85	2.54	2.025	1.205	1.275	1.127	1.420
Munich	2.027	2.679	2.125	1.205	1.285	1.125	1.420
Milan	18.830	19.80	21.10	18.640	19.779	19.94	21.05
New York (D)	1.1944	1.795	1.842	1.1940	1.795	1.842	1.842
Paris	1.975	1.645	1.409	1.125	1.255	1.125	1.255
Tokyo	1.527	13.57	11.14	12.79	14.18	12.79	14.18
Toronto	1.582	1.876	1.799	1.231	1.888	1.799	1.888
Zurich	1.842	2.379	2.075	1.842	2.379	1.842	2.379

Clothes in Amsterdam, London, New York and Zurich. Exchange rates in other centers: Toronto

1: To buy one pound; £: To buy one dollar; \*: Units of 100; N.Q.: not quoted; N.A.: not available.

Other Dollar Values

Currency	Per \$	Currency	Per \$	Currency	Per \$	Currency	Per \$
American peso	0.9701	Greek drach.	246.40	Mal. peso	0.874	S. Afr. rand	2.145
Aust. dollar	1.1726	Hong. dollar	103.77	N. Zealand \$	1.2576	S. Kor. won	1.0125
Canadian dollar	1.4140	India. rupee	214.00	Swed. krona	0.8745	Taiwan \$	26.47
Chinese yuan	0.8783	Irish £	1.202	Portuguese escudo	174.70	Turkish lira	25.25
French franc	6.647	Israeli shek.	1.202	Ru. ruble	1.0145	U.S.A. dollar	1.0145
Egypt. pound	3.39	Kuwaiti dinar	0.5775	Scand. krone	3.6747	Venez. boliv.	111.00
Fr. francs	5.5515	Malay. ring.	2.7155	Swiss 1.	1.578	Yen	1.0145

Forward Rates

Currency	30-day	60-day	90-day	Currency	30-day	60-day	90-day
Canadian dollar	1.3257	1.3538	1.2542	Japanese yen	102.03	102.88	102.91
Deutsche mark	1.7026	1.7155	1.7004	U.S. dollar	1.0145	1.0145	1.0145
Swiss franc	1.4297	1.4301	1.4304	Yen	1.0145	1.0145	1.0145

Sources: ING Bank (Amsterdam); Indesur Bank (Brussels); Banca Commerciale Italiana (Milan); Agence France Presse (Paris); Bank of Tokyo (Tokyo); Royal Bank of Canada (Toronto); IMF (SDR). Other data from Reuters and AP.

### Japan Edgy Over Reported Revival Of U.S. Trade Law

By James Sterngold

New York Times Service

TOKYO — The Japanese government reacted with a touch of worry and anger Wednesday to reports that President Bill Clinton might be preparing to enact a trade law that would allow him to slap sanctions on Japan if it refuses to open its towering trade surplus.

It was reported in Washington that Mr. Clinton has decided to renew the measure, known as Super 301, which would add significantly to his arsenal of weapons to persuade Japan to remove what the United States says are barriers to the import of foreign goods and services.

This imposing weapon worries Japan deeply because it can be used on relatively short notice, involves a unilateral decision and can result in stiff increases in tariffs on U.S. imports of Japanese goods.

In Washington, Mr. Clinton said he had not "made a final decision" on the Super-301 executive order but added: "We're trying to open the market."

"Super 301 is an option, but no final decision has been made," the president's spokeswoman Dee Myers said, adding that reports that Mr. Clinton had decided to sign the executive order were "premature."

Washington is gambling that the threat of sanctions will force the Japanese to make concessions.

Tom Buerkle of the International Herald Tribune reported from Brussels:

A U.S. revival of the Super 301 trade would probably provoke an outcry in Europe but should not cause any immediate damage to trans-Atlantic trade relations, European officials said.

The trade clause lapsed several years ago, to the relief of the Japanese. Although the measure could be applied to any foreign country if revived, it is widely regarded as being aimed specifically at Japan, which had a \$59 billion trade surplus with the United States last year.

The United States and Japan

said after trade negotiations broke down last month that they wanted a cooling-off period before re-engaging on the thorny issues of removing barriers to foreign products and services in Japan and reducing Japan's towering trade surplus.

But Wednesday's reports from Washington were regarded by officials here as an escalation of the simmering tensions. Masayoshi Takemura, the chief cabinet secretary, called the possibility of tougher American position "unpredictable."

"We strongly urge the government to take sensible action," Mr. Takemura said.

Officials at the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry also said using Super 301 would be a grave error.

"We should not start trade wars," an official at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry said. "We should not change the world trading system into a bunch of unilateral measures. Once we start doing this, we would start going down a slippery slope."

Washington is gambling that the threat of sanctions will force the Japanese to make concessions.

Changes in the statistical method of measuring M-3 also artificially inflated January's M-3 number, the Bundesbank said.

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The United States and Japan

### Surge in German Money Supply Jolts European Financial Markets Rate Cuts Unlikely Soon

#### Data Add to U.S. Jitters

By Erik Ipsen

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Desperate sellers dumped European bonds Wednesday, causing a morning price rout that overflowed into stock markets before some lost ground was regained in late trading.

Bewildered analysts characterized the day as "brutal." They had expected tough sledding as bond prices initially lost more than 3 percent of its value on the news, falling nearly 75 points to below 2,000 for the first time since mid-October.

The

30-share DAX index later

stepped

down

2.26

percent lower at 2,020.33.

On the Paris bourse, the CAC-40

index

shed

## MARKET DIARY

## Europe Rate Talk Keeps Dollar Down

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
NEW YORK — The dollar slipped against the Deutsche mark and yen after a jump in German money-supply growth spurred sentiment that European interest rates were not likely to come down soon.

The U.S. currency closed in New York at 1,7050 DM, compared with

## Foreign Exchange

1,7095 Tuesday, and at 104.200 yen, compared with 104.50.

Although the Bundesbank attributed most of the surge in its M-3 money aggregate to special factors, dealers saw the 20.6 percent jump as a sign the German rates will not be lowered in the near term.

"The strong growth in M-3 has been holding up the Bundesbank all along," one analyst said.

Reports that the U.S. government was considering reviving a rule called Super 301, which would allow it to slap Japan with stiff penalties for blocking U.S. trade, kept the dollar under pressure against the yen.

President Bill Clinton said no decision had been made on the controversial trade issue, but many dealers were skeptical of the situation.

The dollar has been sensitive to developments in the trade dispute between the United States and Japan because of prevailing sentiment that the U.S. government endorses a stronger yen as a method of reducing Japan's trade surplus.

A strong yen makes Japanese goods expensive for U.S. consumers and makes U.S. goods cheap for Japanese consumers.

But U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor said the government's trade policy has had no effect on the yen's level and he played down the risk of a "tit-for-tat" trade war with Japan.

The dollar slipped to 5.8020 French francs from 5.8185 Tuesday and to 1,4310 Swiss francs from 1,4385. The pound strengthened to \$1.4964 from \$1.4895.

(Reuters, AFX, Knight-Ridder)

## MARKETS: Interest-Rate Fears

Continued from Page 1

banks declined to lend to business in a credit crunch, "so they loaned cheap cash to each other, and people borrowed money to buy bonds."

"When the Fed raised interest rates," he said, "people who owned bonds on this leveraged basis decided they didn't want to borrow

## N.Y. Stocks

money to hold them more, so we are in the process of redistributing bonds from leveraged to unleveraged buyers. It's like a fire sale."

What Mr. Soss was describing was the in-and-out movements of hedge funds that borrowed heavily to plunge into European bond markets and then bailed out, leaving huge vacuums, like George Soros' Quantum Fund, and many Wall Street funds less known to the public.

"It will take time to redistribute these bonds as prices people are willing to pay, and this has very little to do with supposedly rational fundamentals in the economy," Mr. Soss said. "Stock markets, who are the tail on this dog, will have to wait until prices meet market levels."

This unwinding has also affected currency markets which had expected the dollar to strengthen against the Japanese yen as the U.S. economy improved and were caught short when the Clinton administration adopted a tough trade

strategy against Japan, sending the dollar down against the yen.

But this put the administration's policies in direct contradiction to the Fed, because a weaker dollar may mean more inflation, which is exactly what the Fed is trying to prevent with higher rates. It left markets troubled, confused, and distrustful of government, said Mr. Johnson.

"We are the world's largest debtors and Japan is the largest creditor, and you can't hold up the world's investors with this kind of political gamesmanship," said Robert Falcone of Aubrey Jones & Co., a Wall Street bond house.

He pointed out that although 30-year bond yields at first rose only about 10 basis points — or 10 hundredths of a percentage point — to 6.41 percent in the two weeks after the Fed's change of direction on Feb. 4, they climbed almost 40 basis points in the next fortnight, accelerating immediately after Feb. 11 when trade talks in Washington reached an impasse.

"It will take time to redistribute these bonds as prices people are willing to pay, and this has very little to do with supposedly rational fundamentals in the economy," Mr. Soss said. "Stock markets, who are the tail on this dog, will have to wait until prices meet market levels."

This unwinding has also affected currency markets which had expected the dollar to strengthen against the Japanese yen as the U.S. economy improved and were caught short when the Clinton administration adopted a tough trade

Confined from Page 1

What is needed now "to dispel fear and re-establish confidence," said Mr. Magnus, is the steady hand of central banks. "They have a role to play," he added, by cutting interest rates.

Dealers reported that the partial rate recovery in bond prices, which helped lift stock prices off their lows, was a result of discreet purchases by British, French, Italian and Spanish officials.

But as the upset touched off by news of a huge increase in German money-supply growth in January, which was widely interpreted as further reducing prospects of lower European interest rates, only a coordinated cut in rates led by Germany will calm the markets, analysts said.

Dealers reported that the partial rate recovery in bond prices, which helped lift stock prices off their lows, was a result of discreet purchases by British, French, Italian and Spanish officials.

Nevertheless, Norbert Walter at Deutsche Bank in Frankfurt, said the Bundesbank's emphasis on the extraordinary reasons fueling the money-supply growth, indicated that "it is willing and will try to

reduce rates despite the unfavorable numbers."

"As I see it, we will have a lower rate next week," Mr. Walter said.

Germany's important money-market rate was cut on Tuesday by a thin three basis points, to 5.97 percent from 6 percent.

Mr. Walter noted that "the more the Deutsche mark improves, the greater the possibility for a larger cut" in rates next week.

## WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Agence France Presse March 2

Class Prev.

Class Prev.

Class Prev.

Class Prev.

Class Prev.

Amsterdam

Helsinki

Paris

Sydney

Tokyo

Brussels

Hong Kong

Madrid

Sao Paulo

U.S. General Index

Frankfurt

Johannesburg

London

Singapore

Toronto

Paris

Millan

Madrid

Stockholm

U.S. General Index

Stockholm

Paris

Paris

Paris

Paris



# NYSE

**Wednesday's Closing**  
Prices include the nationwide prices up to  
closing on Wall Street and do not reflect  
trades elsewhere. Via *The Associated Press*

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, MARCH 3, 1994

Continued on Page 15

## هڪڻا منِ الْأَحْمَل

# U.S. Rate Fears Burden Stocks On Pacific Rim

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — Stock prices across the Pacific Rim took a beating Wednesday from fears that the United States would raise interest rates, which could draw foreign funds out of the region as investors chase higher yields.

News Tuesday that the U.S. economy grew 7.5 percent in the fourth quarter of 1993 increased speculation that the Federal Reserve Board would be forced to raise rates to combat inflation.

That would have troubling consequences for the bourses in the Asia-Pacific region, which attracted millions of dollars in foreign money during sharp rallies in 1993. Markets in Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines are particularly vulnerable because of their heavy dependence on foreign funds. In

## Tokyo Guidelines Let City Banks Into Securities

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — The Ministry of Finance unveiled guidelines on Wednesday that would allow commercial banks to enter the securities business starting in July.

The guidelines, worked out as a compromise between the city banks and the securities industry, allow Asahi Bank Ltd. to launch a securities subsidiary in July, ministry officials said. Asahi is the eighth-largest city bank ranked by assets.

In November, the ministry may permit Japan's top six city banks — Dai-Ichi Kangyo Bank Ltd., Sumitomo Bank Ltd., Sanwa Bank Ltd., Sakura Bank Ltd., Mitsubishi Bank Ltd. and Fuji Bank Ltd. — to enter the securities business, the officials said.

Tokai Bank Ltd. and Hokkaido Takushoku Bank Ltd. are likely to launch securities arms in March 1995, they added. Two other city banks will be given permission later, the officials said. Daiwa Bank Ltd. has already entered the field, taking control of Cosmo Securities Co. in a bailout in August. The Bank of Tokyo, meanwhile, wants to concentrate on its trust banking business before expanding into new areas, the officials said.

## Philipine Bourses Merge

(Bloomberg, Reuters)

The Manila and Makati stock markets are being combined into a single Philippine Stock Exchange. Reuters reported from Manila.

The merger of the two exchanges will be phased in from Friday through March 18. Fidel V. Ramos, the president of the Philippines, said Wednesday. The individual franchises of the two exchanges will be canceled as of Friday.

While two separate trading floors will be maintained, the computer systems of the exchanges have been linked to ensure a single price for each share traded.

## NYSE Wednesday's Closing

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

(Continued)

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12 Month

# NASDAQ

**Wednesday's Prices**  
NASDAQ prices as of 4 p.m. New York time.  
This list compiled by the AP, consists of the 1,000  
most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is  
updated twice a year.

**AMEX**

**Wednesday's Closing**  
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, MARCH 3, 1994

**Sales figures are unofficial. Yearly highs and lows reflect the previous 52 weeks plus the current week, but not the latest trading day. Where a cash or stock dividend amounting to 25 per cent or more has been paid, the year's high-low range and dividend are shown for the new stock only. Unless otherwise noted, rates of dividends are annual disbursements based on the latest declaration.**

**a — dividend also extra(s).**  
**b — dividend plus dividend plus stock dividend.**  
**c — liquidating dividend.**  
**cd — called.**  
**d — new yearly low.**  
**e — dividend declared or paid in preceding 12 months.**  
**g — dividend in Canadian funds, subject to 15% non-residence tax.**  
**i — dividend declared after split-up or stock dividend.**  
**j — dividend paid this year, omitted-deferred, or no action taken at latest dividend meeting.**  
**k — dividend declared or paid this year, on accumulative basis with dividends in arrears.**  
**n — new issue in the past 52 weeks. The high-low range begins with the start of trading.**  
**nd — heavy day delivery.**  
**P/E — price-earnings ratio.**  
**r — dividend declared or paid in preceding 12 months, plus stock dividend.**  
**s — stock split. Dividend begins with date of split.**  
**sls — sales.**  
**1 — dividend paid in stock in preceding 12 months, estimated cash value on ex-dividend or ex-distribution date.**  
**2 — new yearly high.**  
**3 — trading history.**  
**vi — in bankruptcy or receivership or being reorganized under the Bankruptcy Act, or securities assumed by such companies.**  
**vd — when distributed.**  
**wi — when issued.**  
**ww — with warrants.**  
**x — ex-dividend or ex-rights.**  
**xsds — ex-distribution.**  
**xw — without warrant.**  
**y — ex-dividend and sales in full.**  
**yd — yield.**  
**z — sales in full.**

# THE 1994 International Herald Tribune READER SURVEY

At the International Herald Tribune, it is of vital importance for us to know more about our readers, so that we can continue to produce a better newspaper for you. Whether you read the International Herald Tribune regularly or only occasionally, we would be grateful if you could help us by completing and returning this questionnaire. The survey results, which will be produced in a confidential form only, will be used by our editorial, marketing and advertising departments.

Answers will be treated in strictest confidence by PSI Research Services, the independent market research company.

As a token of appreciation we will make a charitable donation of one US dollar for each questionnaire returned. The findings of the survey and grants donated to charity will be published in the IHT over the next week or two.

Please complete and return the questionnaire to IHT using the folding instructions on the reverse.

Thank you for your help.

RICHARD MACKENZIE  
CHIEF EXECUTIVE  
PUBLISHER

## YOU AND THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

### 1. Where do you usually obtain your copies of the International Herald Tribune?

subscription delivered to your home  1  
subscription delivered to your office - personal subscription  2  
- circulated copy  3  
buy regularly from newsagent / newsstand  4  
buy occasionally from newsagent / newsstand  5  
friend or colleague's copy  6  
airline / hotel copy  7

### 2a. How often do you usually read or look at the IHT?

5 - 6 days a week  1  
3 - 4 days a week  2  
Less often than once a week  4

### 2b. Where do you usually read or look at the IHT? (Please check all that apply)

At home <input type="checkbox"/> 1	Traveling abroad <input type="checkbox"/> 4
At work <input type="checkbox"/> 2	Elsewhere <input type="checkbox"/> 5
Traveling to and from work <input type="checkbox"/> 3	

### 3a. Does your spouse/partner read your copy of the IHT?

Yes  1  
No  2

### 3b. And how many people in total, excluding yourself, usually read your copy of the IHT?

One  1  
Two  2  
Three  3  
Four  4  
Five or more  5  
No one else  6

### 4. How interested would you be in reading a lengthier, magazine-type article in the IHT?

Very interested  1  
Quite interested  2  
Not very interested  3

## TRAVEL

### 5. Approximately how many business air trips did you make in the last 12 months? (Count a round trip as one).

None  0  
1 - 2  1  
3 - 5  3  
6 - 9  6  
10 - 19  7  
20 - 34  8  
35+  9

### 6. To which of the following destinations did you fly on business in the last 12 months?

EUROPE			THE AMERICAS			ASIA/PACIFIC			MIDDLE EAST			AFRICA			ELSEWHERE		
Belgium / Luxembourg <input type="checkbox"/> 1	USA <input type="checkbox"/> 1	Indonesia <input type="checkbox"/> 1	Canada <input type="checkbox"/> 2	China <input type="checkbox"/> 7	Australia <input type="checkbox"/> 1	Hong Kong <input type="checkbox"/> 4	Singapore <input type="checkbox"/> 5	Japan <input type="checkbox"/> 7	Taiwan <input type="checkbox"/> 8	New Zealand <input type="checkbox"/> 4	Other Asia/Pacific <input type="checkbox"/> 3	Thailand <input type="checkbox"/> 9	Malaysia <input type="checkbox"/> 0	Maldives <input type="checkbox"/> 1	Other <input type="checkbox"/> 8		
France <input type="checkbox"/> 2	Canada <input type="checkbox"/> 2	China <input type="checkbox"/> 7	Latin America <input type="checkbox"/> 3	Australia <input type="checkbox"/> 1	New Zealand <input type="checkbox"/> 4												
Germany <input type="checkbox"/> 3																	
Italy <input type="checkbox"/> 4																	
Spain <input type="checkbox"/> 5																	
Switzerland <input type="checkbox"/> 6																	
Netherlands <input type="checkbox"/> 7																	
Scandinavia / Finland <input type="checkbox"/> 8																	
British Isles <input type="checkbox"/> 9																	
Russia <input type="checkbox"/> 10																	
Other Eastern European Countries <input type="checkbox"/> 11																	

### 7a. For business trips, which class of air travel do you usually use?

FOR SHORT-HAUL TRIPS (Up to four hours)	FOR LONG-HAUL TRIPS (Over four hours)
First Class <input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Business Class <input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Economy <input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
No such trips <input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

### 7b. Do you belong to an airline's executive/frequent flier club?

Yes  1  
No  2  
SKIP TO Q8

### 7c. If yes, which one(s) do you mainly use? (Please write in)

1.  2.  3.

### 8. In the last 12 months, approximately how many nights have you spent in hotels on business?

None <input type="checkbox"/> 0	8 - 14 <input type="checkbox"/> 2	30 - 49 <input type="checkbox"/> 4	75 or more <input type="checkbox"/> 6
1 - 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 1	15 - 29 <input type="checkbox"/> 3	50 - 74 <input type="checkbox"/> 5	

### 9. In the last 12 months, how many times have you rented a car (for business or personal reasons, at home or abroad)?

Not rented <input type="checkbox"/> 0	3 - 6 rentals <input type="checkbox"/> 2	15 rentals or more <input type="checkbox"/> 4
1 - 2 rentals <input type="checkbox"/> 1	7 - 14 rentals <input type="checkbox"/> 3	

### 10. Please indicate whether you have done either of the following in the past 12 months:

FOR PERSONAL REASONS  1  
FOR BUSINESS REASONS  2

Flown in a privately chartered aeroplane  1  
Used your company's private aeroplane  2

### 11a. Please indicate whether you own any of the following companies' calling cards, excluding pre-paid telephone cards. (Please check all that apply)

AT&T <input type="checkbox"/> 1	MC1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2	Sprint <input type="checkbox"/> 3
Other <input type="checkbox"/> 4	Do not own one <input type="checkbox"/> 5	SKIP TO Q12

### 11b. How many times, on your last business trip outside your own country, did you use your calling card?

None <input type="checkbox"/> 1	Twice <input type="checkbox"/> 3	6 - 9 times <input type="checkbox"/> 5
Once <input type="checkbox"/> 2	3 - 5 times <input type="checkbox"/> 4	10 or more times <input type="checkbox"/> 6

## ABOUT YOU

### 12a. Of which country (or countries) are you a citizen? (Write in)

### 12b. In which country are you currently resident? (Write in)

### 12c. For how long have you been living in your present country of residence?

Less than 6 months <input type="checkbox"/> 1	1 - 2 years <input type="checkbox"/> 3	5 - 10 years <input type="checkbox"/> 5
6 - 12 months <input type="checkbox"/> 2	2 - 5 years <input type="checkbox"/> 4	10 or more years <input type="checkbox"/> 6

### 13. Are you?

Male  1  
Female  2

### 14. What is your age?

Under 25 <input type="checkbox"/> 1	35 - 44 <input type="checkbox"/> 3	55 - 64 <input type="checkbox"/> 5
25 - 34 <input type="checkbox"/> 2	45 - 54 <input type="checkbox"/> 4	65 or over <input type="checkbox"/> 6

### 15. What is the highest educational level you attained?

Doctorate/ higher university degree <input type="checkbox"/> 1	University degree/ equivalent professional qualification <input type="checkbox"/> 3
MBA <input type="checkbox"/> 2	Secondary or high school <input type="checkbox"/> 4

### 16. Into which of the following groups does your pre-tax annual household income from all sources fall? (Check in US\$ or write in your own currency)

Up to US \$50,000 <input type="checkbox"/> 1	\$150,000 to \$199,999 <input type="checkbox"/> 5
\$50,000 to \$74,999 <input type="checkbox"/> 2	\$200,000 to \$249,999 <input type="checkbox"/> 6
\$75,000 to \$99,999 <input type="checkbox"/> 3	\$250,000 to \$499,999 <input type="checkbox"/> 7
\$100,000 to \$149,999 <input type="checkbox"/> 4	\$500,000 or more <input type="checkbox"/> 8

Or annual income in own currency (write in)

### 17a. How many cars are there in your household, including any company cars?

No car  0  
One  1  
Two  2  
Three or more  3

### 17b. What do you estimate to be the current cost of your main car, if purchased new (to the same specification)?

Under US \$15,000 <input type="checkbox"/> 1	\$40,000 to under \$75,000 <input type="checkbox"/> 4
\$15,000 to under \$25,000 <input type="checkbox"/> 2	\$75,000 or more <input type="checkbox"/> 5
\$25,000 to under \$40,000 <input type="checkbox"/> 3	

### 18. Which, if any, of these cards do you use? (Please check as many as apply)

Access/Eurocard/Mastercard (Gold) <input type="checkbox"/> 1	Diners Club <input type="checkbox"/> 5
Access/Eurocard/Mastercard <input type="checkbox"/> 2	Visa Gold/Premier <input type="checkbox"/> 6
American Express Gold/Platinum <input type="checkbox"/> 3	Visa/Carte Bleue <input type="checkbox"/> 7
American Express Green <input type="checkbox"/> 4	None of these <input type="checkbox"/> 8

### 19a. Which, if any, of the following types of investment do you or members of your household have?

Stocks and Shares <input type="checkbox"/> 1	Life Assurance Policies <input type="checkbox"/> 1
Bonds <input type="checkbox"/> 2	Derivative Products <input type="checkbox"/> 2
Government Securities <input type="checkbox"/> 3	Gold/Precious Metals <input type="checkbox"/> 3
Investment funds (including Mutual Funds/Unit Trusts) <input type="checkbox"/> 4	Real Estate (excluding main residence) <input type="checkbox"/> 4
Private Pension Plans <input type="checkbox"/> 5	Collectibles (art, antiques, coins, stamps, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> 5
	Other <input type="checkbox"/> 6

### 19b. What is the approximate total value of the above and any other investments (excluding your main home) owned by you and members of your household (in US \$)?

Under US \$50,000 <input type="checkbox"/> 1	\$500,000 to under \$1 million <input type="checkbox"/> 5
\$50,000 to under \$100,000 <input type="checkbox"/> 2	\$1 million to under \$5 million <input type="checkbox"/> 6
\$100,000 to under \$250,000 <input type="checkbox"/> 3	US \$5 million or more <input type="checkbox"/> 7
\$250,000 to under \$500,000 <input type="checkbox"/> 4	

Please indicate which of these charities should benefit from your dollar donation:

Save the Children  1  
Worldwide Fund for Nature  2  
Cancer Research  3

## A U.S. DOLLAR FROM YOU TO A CHARITY

Thank you for your contribution. In 1993, the IHT contributed \$10,662 to charity on behalf of its readers.

If you are not working full-time or part-time, please skip to bottom of page.

YOUR OCCUPATION

### 20. Are you...?

Working full-time  1  
Student  2  
Not in a paid occupation  5

Working part-time  2  
Retired  4  
Other  8

If you are not working full-time or part-time, please skip to bottom of page.

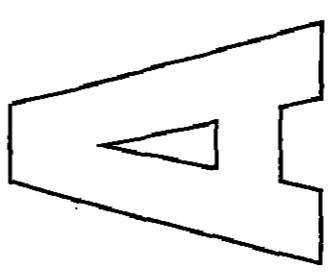
### 21. What is the principal activity of the organisation for which you work?

Education  1  
Legal  2

Primary/Public Utilities  1  
Manufacturing/Engineering  2

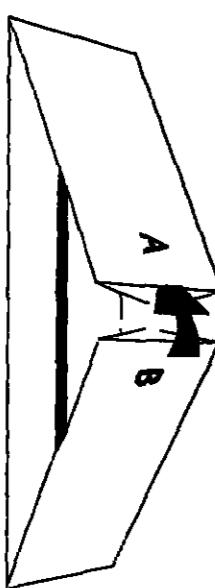
Wholesale/Retail  3  
Financial Services  4

FIRST FOLD



SECOND FOLD

THIRD FOLD



**FOLD IN SEQUENCE**  
**First fold to Fourth fold.**  
**Then tuck Flap B into Flap A**

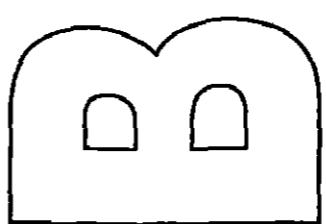
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**Herald** INTERNATIONAL **Tribune**  
PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

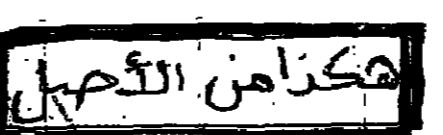
THE International Herald Tribune has donated around \$65,000 to charity, on behalf of our readers, in connection with periodic reader studies like this one.

PLEASE help us continue this important program by completing and forwarding the questionnaire on the reverse side of this sheet.

Our warmest thanks for your help.



FOURTH FOLD





# SPORTS

## Spurs' Odd Mix Makes Winning Formula

By Jay Privman  
New York Times Service

SAN ANTONIO, Texas — The ascension of the San Antonio Spurs to one of the National Basketball Association's top teams has coincided with the spectacular play of David Robinson, the abstinen- preaching, shoe-selling, slam-dunking center who is the league's second-leading scorer and, perhaps, its best all-round player.

In the last two months, the Spurs have won 25 of 29 games, including 14 of their last 16, and were 40-16 — third best in the league — entering Wednesday night's game at home against Utah.

But this transformation has not been sudden. Rather, it began 14 months ago when John Lucas took over as coach, and it was energized in October, when the Spurs traded Sean Elliott to Detroit for Dennis Rodman, the league's best rebounder and cheerleader — and its most notorious hair stylist.

Beyond them, it is hardly a spectacular supporting cast. The starting guards, Willie Anderson and Vinny Del Negro, are role players. They combine for an average of 20 points per game.

A starting forward, Dale Ellis, has won out his welcome in Seattle, and the career of Lloyd Daniels, a reserve forward, was nearly waylaid by problems with drugs.

The other reserves include such aging veterans as Antoine Carr, Eric (Sleepy) Floyd and Terry Cummings, and J. R. Reid, a college star who has been a disappointment as a pro.

This then is San Antonio, the hottest team in the league. And one of the oddest.

"That's an understatement, that we're an

odd collection of people," Robinson said as he surveyed the locker room after a 126-110 victory against the Lakers in Los Angeles last week. "But the thing is, these guys genuinely root for each other. We're not the most talented team, but we use that talent to play with a lot of enthusiasm."

Lucas is the master chef. A former player, he runs a substance-abuse treatment center in Houston and has brought the interpersonal skills honed as a counselor to the Spurs, who are 79-38 since he became coach.

"He allows players to be themselves," Robinson said. "That's one of the keys in this league. You've got to be more than a dictator. He's got a good feel for it, for

Rodman's arrival changed the responsibilities of the Spurs, most notably those of Robinson. No longer does Robinson have to do all the rebounding, as well as scoring. Rodman parks himself at the baseline, which frees Robinson to move about the court.

Robinson is one of the quickest centers in the game, yet has a deadly outside shot, a combination that is difficult to defend. Leave Robinson alone, and he will pop from 15 feet (5 meters). Come out to challenge, and Robinson can blow right by.

"Instead of compromising David for the good of the team, we've compromised the team for the good of David," Lucas said.

Robinson is averaging 28.5 points per

Then he got rolling. "Shaq is not the man. He's the man because the NBA wants him to be the man, but before you can be the man, you've got to be the man."

Such doggerel is typical of Rodman, who seems to exist in his own world during games. He spends those two-plus hours of game time chatting with opposing players, fans and himself, and cajoling teammates. Every few moments, Rodman looks in on a rebound like a heat-seeking missile. Rodman is averaging a league-leading 17.9 rebounds per game. O'Neal is second with 12.5.

"I've been around a lot of guys and learned a lot, especially the Olympics and All-Star teams, but I've learned as much about winning as Dennis as anyone," Rodman said.

Will that winning translate to success in the playoffs? The Spurs are notorious for being early-round casualties. Last year, the Spurs made it to the Western Conference semifinals, where they lost to Phoenix. To advance further this year, they will rely on Robinson and Rodman, and a back-breaking defense that is the second best in the league to the Knicks.

"We're already seeing some playoff-type looks from other teams," Lucas said. "Getting by those hurdles now will make us better when the playoffs come."

The Spurs have the right mix for a strong playoff run: good outside shooting, a strong inside game, a patient half-court offense and stifling defense.

"I definitely feel we're playing as well as anyone," Robinson said. "Yeah, we've got an odd assortment of people, and Dennis sure adds another card to the table. I wouldn't want to change it, though."

## NCAA, BCA Hold Talks

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The Black Coaches Association and the NCAA, with an assist from federal mediators, have finally began talking to each other, although no one would say what was discussed.

"The parties had a frank exchange of views and planned to schedule another session to continue the talks," Ron Tomals of the Justice Department's Community Relations Service, which is mediating the dispute, said after Tuesday night's 1 1/2-hour conference call.

The NCAA and the BCA twice tried to meet face to face but were unable to do so because of the Olympics and scheduling conflicts.

The coaches threatened in January to disrupt Division I-A games to protest higher academic eligibility standards and reduced scholarships.

However, the threat was withdrawn after the 40-member Congressional Black advised the coaches against disrupting the season and intervened to get the Justice Department involved.

Tomals declined to say when the two sides would try to talk again, and whether it would be in person or by conference call. He said both sides and the mediators agreed to not comment on the various disputes.

That had led to a lot of second-guessing.

"Sometimes you lose the battle to win the war," he told ESPN. "We had no chance so what difference does it make to try and make a comeback and push everybody to the gills. Bailey was sick and run down and he asked to come out of the game."

"So many people are supposed to know so much," Knight said.

"To paraphrase Winston Churchill, 'Never have so many thought they knew so much and knew so little.'

We accomplished tonight exactly what we tried to do on Sunday."

Damon Bailey and Alan Henderson, two of the starters benched Sunday, led the Hoosiers as they extended the nation's longest home winning streak to 43 games.

Bailey, who had 22 points, made all 12 of his free throws as Indiana made the Iliini pay for fouling. Indiana (18-6, 11-4 Big Ten) made 26 of 31 free throws, compared to 8 of 20 by Illinois (15-9, 8-7). Dean Thomas, a 74 percent free-throw shooter, missed 8 of 12.

Henderson, who did not score at Minnesota, had 20 points, 11 rebounds, four blocks and four assists. The only problem he had was at the free-throw line, where he extended for all of Indiana's misses.

Indiana also got a lift from the return of Pat Graham, who had missed two games with a foot injury. He had 21 points.

Kiwanis Davis hit five 3-pointers and scored 22 points to lead Illinois.

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No. 14 Syracuse 71, Miami 69: The visiting Orange (20-5, 12-5 Big East), having trailed most of the second half, took the lead for good at 70-69 on Lawrence Merten's three-point play with 42 seconds left. The Hurricanes (7-18, 0-17) missed two shots in the final 10 seconds and lost their 15th straight game.

No. 23 Boston College 95, St. John's 76: Bill Curley had 30 points and 11 rebounds in his final home game as the Eagles (20-8, 11-6 Big East) reached the 20-victory mark for the first time since 1984-85, which was also the last time they made the NCAA tournament field.

Curley and fellow seniors Howard Easley, Malcolm Huckabee and Gerrod Abrom scored 68 of Boston College's first 78 points. Charles Minland had 25 points for the Redmen (11-15, 5-12), who lost their fifth straight.

## Hoosiers Rebound After 50-Point Loss

The Associated Press

Bob Knight was selective in whom he talked to, and his players were not talking at all after No. 17 Indiana rebounded from a 50-point loss to Minnesota two days earlier with an 82-77 victory over visiting Illinois.

"The Indiana players and coaches won't be available," Gregg Elkin, Indiana's assistant sports information director, told the press after Tuesday night's game.

But Knight did give ESPN an interview and talked of his school's poor loss in 89 years, in which he benched four starters for more than half the game.

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## College Leaders

Through February 28

	GI	FG	SPG	FT	Pts	Ave.
Robinson, Prude	53	422	277	192	26.7	12.5
Foster, HC	54	529	458	1540	26.8	22.8
Scates, John	53	525	455	1406	26.5	22.7
Ward, Vernell	54	524	454	1401	26.4	22.6
Medie, Cag	53	521	451	1399	26.2	22.5
King, WCC	53	520	450	1397	26.1	22.4
Dumas, UMKC	53	511	441	1465	26.0	22.3
Buchanan, Maf	53	505	436	1465	25.8	22.2
Trent, Ohio	50	505	436	1464	25.7	22.1
Anderson, APA	53	504	435	1463	25.6	22.0
Horowitz, UConn	53	503	434	1462	25.5	21.9
Smith, Neil	53	502	433	1461	25.4	21.8
Lifschitz, Ida	53	502	432	1460	25.3	21.7
Tellert, Deprt	53	501	431	1459	25.2	21.6
Bernerman, Sero	53	500	430	1458	25.1	21.5
Adams, L.A.	53	499	429	1457	25.0	21.4
Adams, Col	53	498	428	1456	24.9	21.3
Rogers, TemSt	53	497	427	1455	24.8	21.2
Gifford, UTEP	53	496	426	1454	24.7	21.1
Reeves, Ariz	53	495	425	1453	24.6	21.0

REBOUNDS

	GI	G	No.	Ave.
Scates, South	53	26	244	9.5
Lambert, Bovil	53	21	307	12.5
Kubel, NW Lo	53	26	341	13.1
Ward, Vernell	53	26	340	13.2
Warren, VCU	53	24	324	12.9
Voughn, Memphis	53	24	293	12.9
Stewart, UNLV	53	24	279	12.1
Jackson, MichSt	53	24	271	12.1
Trent, Ohio	53	27	315	11.5
Smith, Prov	53	23	266	11.5
Merberry, Press	53	25	269	11.4
Warley, St. Joe	53	25	268	11.4
Reeves, Ariz	53	27	305	11.3
Rogers, TemSt	53	27	305	11.3
Roxer, TennSt	53	27	303	11.3
Wright, Clemm	53	27	294	11.2
Payne, BGSU	53	27	294	10.6</td



## ART BUCHWALD

## To Spy or Not to Spy

**WASHINGTON** — When the news broke of the arrest of the CIA employee for spying for the Russians, all of Washington was shocked.

The White House could not believe that the Russians would hire a "mole" to pass along American secrets. The State Department also found itself in a state of disbelief as did the Justice Department, the Small Business Administration and the Department of Agriculture.

No matter where you went there was gloom in the air. One of the president's top advisers, "Mister X," told me, "How could a nation like Russia spy on the United States, the only friend and ally it has in the world?"

"Maybe it was some over-the-hill KGB types who hired Ames just to keep it practice."

"We don't accept that. Spying is a hostile act, and Yeltsin knew when he met with President Clinton that Moscow had a mole in Langley."

"One thing really puzzles me," I said. "What had the Russians planned on doing with the information?"

"They wanted to make themselves look good again in spy novels. What hurts is that they say Ames was paid with the money that we gave Yeltsin to straighten out his country. You don't use USAID funds to spy on the country that gave it to you in the first place."

"What possessed Ames to work for the other side?"



"Greed, plus a feeling that he wasn't appreciated by his own side and a 1992 Jaguar."

"He wanted a Jaguar that bad?"

"Doesn't everybody?"

I then asked the nuclear question: "Do you think we still spy on the Russians?"

The aide was horrified. "Do you expect me to answer that question?"

"I think I do."

"The United States would consider it an intrusion into that country's internal affairs if we had agents there on our payroll."

"Are you sure?"

"We have nobody working for us in Moscow with the possible exception of one or two cabinet members, a half-dozen generals and Yeltsin's tennis pro. But we are only gathering information that is in the public domain. The CIA has strict orders not to accept any Russian intelligence if it is given to them on microfilm."

□

"Do you think double agents should be punished severely?"

"They should get the works, which includes a good whack on the knees from Tonya Harding's associates."

"What does the United States expect Yeltsin to do to make amends?"

"He has to bring to trial the people who hired the American turncoats and use them as a lesson to other Russian agents who might be tempted to discover our secrets."

"What about Ames's wife? Do you think it's nice for a woman to spy on her own country?"

"We can't do anything about her. The CIA is an equal opportunity employer."

## Rome Arch Misnamed, Experts Say

Reuters

**ROME** — The Arch of Constantine, as much a Roman landmark as the Colosseum, was built nearly 200 years earlier than previously thought, according to Italy's Central Restoration Institute.

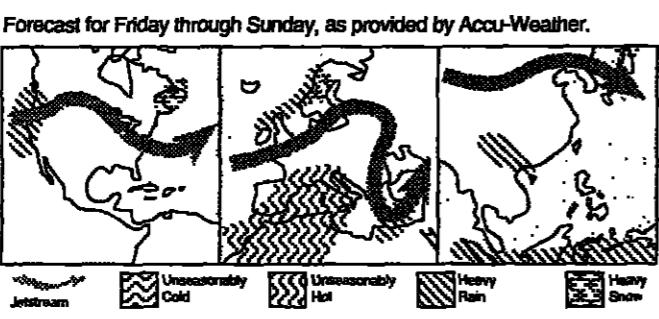
The arch, at the south end of the imperial Forum, was long thought to have been erected in the year 315 in honor of the Emperor Constantine's military victory over rival Maxentius three years earlier. But

after more than 10 years of excavations and surface studies, archaeologists now say they have determined the origin of antiquity's most famous triumphal arch.

The entire bottom half — that is, the arch itself — was constructed in the first half of the second century, most likely under the Emperor Hadrian," said Angela Maria Ferroni, one of three members of the excavation team.

## WEATHER

## Europe



## North America

Heavy snow will spread from northern Scotland to western Europe. Gusty winds will buffet the Northeast Friday, but the heavy rains and shows of snow will fall over the interior of Scandinavia.

Friday's cold front will end this weekend with a few showers across London.

Saturday into the weekend, Spain to Italy will have

springlike warmth through the weekend.

## Middle East

Heavy rains will reach San Francisco this weekend.

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